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THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED

TO THE MEN AND WOMEN
OF OUR TIME AND COUNTRY WHO BY WISE AND GENEROUS GIVING
HAVE ENCOURAGED THE SEARCH AFTER TRUTH
IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF KNOWLEDGE

INVESTIGATIONS

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
FOUNDED BY JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER

INVESTIGATIONS REPRESENTING THE DEPARTMENTS

SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC GREEK

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GREEK PAPYRI FROM THE CAIRO MUSEUM

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GREEK PAPYRI FROM THE CAIRO MUSEUM

TOGETHER WITH PAPYRI OF ROMAN EGYPT FROM AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

I. CAIRO PAPYRI

THE papyri that follow were transcribed during a visit to the Gizeh — now the Cairo — Museum made in the last months of 1899. For permission to work upon them I am indebted to the authorities of the museum, M. Maspero and Brugsch Bey. Of the Greek papyri at Gizeh many had already been published, chiefly by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, by whom the admirable *Inventory of Greek Papyri in the Cairo Museum* has been prepared. My work on the papyri has been greatly lightened and furthered by the use of this *Inventory*, particularly in dating the pieces, in which I have uniformly followed it. My especial thanks are due its authors for permission to use it in manuscript in advance of its publication, as well as for help on many difficulties in these papyri.

After the two literary pieces (I, II) the papyri are arranged in chronological order. The numbers 10397, etc., are the *Inventory* numbers in the Cairo Museum. Nos. III–IX are Ptolemaic, III being from the third century B. C., IV–VIII from the second, and IX from the first. The remaining pieces are from the second (I, II, X) and fourth (XI–XV) centuries after Christ. The three great periods, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, are thus represented. As to *provenance*, III and VII come from the Fayûm; V, VI, and IX from Gebelên; while XIII, XV, and probably XI, XII, and XIV, are from Ashmunên.

In printing, parentheses ( ) indicate the expansion of abbreviations, square brackets [ ] lacunæ, single-angled brackets ⟨ ⟩ omitted letters, and double square brackets [[ ]] erased words or letters. Each dot on the line represents the space or traces of a single letter. Dots under letters mark the letters as uncertain. The accents, breathings, capitals, and punctuation in the non-literary papyri are supplied.

I. ODYSSEY *o* 216–53

Cairo Museum 10397. 12.6 × 12.3 cm. Second century A. D.

This little fragment contains parts of two columns of a roll which probably comprised simply the fifteenth book of the *Odyssey*. The closing parts of the last sixteen lines of one column and in general the beginnings of the last fifteen of the next are preserved. As seven lines intervene in the current text between the last line of Column I and the first preserved in Column II, the complete columns probably

contained twenty-two lines each. They thus seem to have been the tenth and eleventh columns of the roll.

The writing, a very neat uncial, makes it possible to refer the papyrus with a good deal of confidence to the second century A. D. There are occasional accents—circumflex, 221; acute, 217, 220, 223, etc., and possibly, incorrectly, in 221—and a somewhat excessive punctuation, a point being placed at the end of nearly every line. A rough breathing in the rectangular form occurs once, 223, and possibly twice, 219. Elision is indicated by the apostrophe, and the diæresis appears over initial υ, 252, as well as in its modern use, νηΐ, 218. The dative ι is adscript, 218, 222.

The chief interest of the papyrus attaches to the single margin that it preserves, which contains an *obelus*, two *diplae*, and a scholium. Verse 251 was rejected by Aristarchus, and doubtless the *obelus* has to do with this. The use of the *diplê* is more obscure. That it marks rejection is hardly probable, for, while 247 might be spared, the text would certainly halt without 250. It is noticeable that in both cases the *diplê* stands opposite αλλ. Possibly it was intended to warn the reader or copyist against the accidental omission of the intervening lines through a common error of the eye. The scholium διὰ τὰς σε[ ] opposite 218 probably explained the command ἐγκοσμεῖτε, and should be restored διὰ τὰς σε[ιράς].

COLUMN I

(Probably six lines gone.)

αψ πυλιων εις αστυ θοως δ αρ]α δωμαθ [ικανε
τηλεμαχος δ εταροισιν εποτ]ρ[υν]ων εκέλε[υ]σεν.
εγκοσμειτε τα τευχε εταιροι νη]ὶ μελαινηι.
αυτοι τ αμβαινωμεν ινα πρη]σσωμεν ὀδοιο·
220 ως εφαθ οι δ αρα του μαλα μεν κλ]υον ηδ' επίθοντο
αιψα δ αρ εισβαινον και επι κλη]ῖσι κάθιζον
η τοι ο μεν τα πονειτο και ευχετο] θυε τ αθηνηι·
νηι παρα πρυμνηι σχεδοθεν] δέ οἳ ηλυθεν ανηρ·
τηλεδαπος φευγων εξ αργεος α]νδρα κατακτας.
225 μαντις αταρ γενεην γε μελαμ]ποδ[ος εκγ]ον[ος] ἠεν
ος πριν μεν ποτ εναιε πυλωι] ἑνι μητερι μηλων
αφνειος πυλιοισι μεγ εξοχα δω]ματα ναιων.
δη τοτε γ αλλων δημον αφικε]το π[α]τ[ρ]ιδα φευγων
νηλεα τε μεγαθυμον αγαυοτατ]ον ζωοντον.
230 ος οι χρηματα πολλα τελεσφορο]ν εις ενιαυτον.
ειχε βιηι ο δε τεως μεν ενι μεγ]άροις φυλάκοιο·

(End of Column I.)

224 A stroke, perhaps the accent, over the last α of κατακτας.

COLUMN II

(Probably seven lines missing.)

αργ[ος ες ιπποβοτον τοθι γαρ νυ οι αισιμον ην
240 ναιε[μεναι πολλοισιν ανασσοντ αργειοισιν
ενθ[α δ εγημε γυναικα και υψερεφες θετο δωμα
γινατο [δ αντιφατην και μαντιον υιε κραταιω
αντιφ[ατης μεν τικτεν οικληα μεγαθυμον
αυ[τ]αρ ο[ικλειης λαοσσοον αμφιαραον
245 ο[ν περι κηρι φιλει ζευς τ αιγιοχος και απολλων
[παντοιην φιλοτητ ουδ ικετο γηραος ουδον]
>[αλλ ολετ εν θηβησι γυναιων εινεκα δωρων]
[του δ υιεις εγενοντ αλκμαιων αμφιλοχος τε]
μαν]τι[ος αυ τεκετο πολυφειδεα τε κλειτον τε
250 >αλλ η τοι [κλειτον χρυσοθρονος ηρπασεν ηως
καλλεος [ειινεκα οιο ιν αθανατοισι μετειη
αυταρ ὑπ[ερθυμον πολυφειδεα μαντιν απολλων
θηκε βροτω[ν οχ αριστον επει θανεν αμφιαραος

(End of Column II.)

217 ἐποτρύνων Van Leeuwen *c* G¹PHM; ἐποτρύνας Ameis, La Roche, Ludwich *c* ACKQSV (La Roche) FXDULWZ (Ludwich). Ameis, *Homers Odyssee*, ed. 1879, cites the parallel use of the aorist participle in λ 44, δὴ τότ' ἔπειθ' ἑτάροισιν ἐποτρύνας ἐκέλευσα. But Hentze remarks, *Anhang*, p. 75, that the oldest (parchment) manuscript of the *Odyssey*, the Laurentian, has ἐποτρύνων in the first hand, above the last two letters of which an ancient corrector has written -ας.

218 ἐμοὶ ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι DL.

219 πρήσωμεν CKLQ.

220 ἠδ' ἐπίθοντο Van Leeuwen; ἠδὲ πίθοντο Ameis La Roche Ludwich *c* A. ἠδ' ἐπάκουον G. ἐδ' ἐπήκουον M. ἠδ' ἐπήκουσαν P.

221 κάθιζον Ludwich *c* ACDEFGHIKLMNPQRV Herodianus; καθῖζον Ameis La Roche.

222 θῦε δ' Ἀθήνῃ Ameis La Roche Ludwich.

226 ἐνὶ ACDKM.

242 γείνατο Ameis La Roche Ludwich.

245 τὸν N Plato, *Axiochus* 368 A.

251 According to Schol. A on the duplicate line Y 235, 251 was rejected by Aristarchus (Hentze).—ὁ ἀστερίσκος ὅτι τοῦτον γράφουσι τὸν στίχον ἐπὶ τοῦ Κλείτου οὐ δεόντως Aristonicus (La Roche, *Od.*, p. 57). This rejection is further attested by the *obelus* in this papyrus.

II. A MEDICAL FRAGMENT

Cairo Museum 10160. 9.5 × 9.4 cm. Second century A. D.

The brevity of this fragment makes the positive determination of its meaning difficult. It seems to be part of a medical treatise. The hand is a semi-uncial and suggests a date in the second century after Christ. The papyrus preserves the first twelve lines of one column practically complete, and the beginnings of the first twelve of the next. The middle point occurs once, Col. I, 7. The *paragraphus* appears twice, after Col. I, 7 and 11, in each case marking a pause in or after the line it follows. The writing on the *recto* is along the fibers. The *verso* seems to contain second or third-century accounts.

COLUMN I

ρον αμεινον ενα
μ]αλλον δε μοι του
τω δοκουσιν πεπον
θεναι και οι των ω
5 ραιων ημας αποξε
νουντες ως βλαβερω
τερον· εγω γε μην ετι
παλιν νομιζω και
ε]υκατεργαστον ειναι
10 την τουτων υλην
και ευδιαφορητον
. . .] . [. . . . . .
. . . . .

Col. I, 2 *l.* τοῦτο
7 *l.* βλαβερωτέρων

COLUMN II

θυ . ε[
σθαιο[
μασι[
κτοσ[
5 και τυ[
μω[
μυτ[
χον . [
σεως[

10 λοσθ[
ουτε[
επιτ[
. . . . .

COLUMN I

". . . . But rather this seems to me to have been the experience of those who warn us against ripe fruits[1] as being very harmful. I, however, further consider contrariwise that the substance of these is easy both of digestion and of assimilation (?)[2] . . . ."

III. A LETTER

Cairo Museum 10313. 5 × 11.7 cm., and 10328, 11 × 11.5 cm. Third century B. C. 10313 is from the Fayûm.

The shape and size of these fragments, the direction of the fibers, and the good-sized cursive hand in which they are written show that they belong together, although it is possible that some lines are lost after l. 3. The writer, Ptolemæus, tells his correspondent that just before falling asleep he had written two letters about two women, Taunchis and Teteimouthis. The early lines perhaps suggest that he afterward dreamed of the subjects of the letters, and wrote to acquaint his friend with the dream. 10328 has some demotic on the *verso*.

10313 Μετὰ τὸ δέξαι
Πτολεμαῖος Ἀχιλλεῖ χαίρειν.
Μετὰ τὸ γράψαι περὶ τοῦ
(Papyrus breaks off.)

10328 ἔδο]ξέ [μο]ι ν[ῦ]ν περὶ τοῦ
5 ὁράματος διασαφῆσαί σοι
ὅπως εἰδῆις ὃν τρόπον
οἱ θεοί σε οἴδασιν Αἰγύπτιο[ι.
τί δὲ ὑπέγραψα; ὅπως
ἀκριβῶς εἰδῆις. ἡνίκα
10 ἤμελλον κοιμηθῆναι
ἔγραψα ἐπιστόλια $\overline{\beta}$ ἓν μὲν
περὶ Ταύγχιος τῆς ἐκ
Θερμούθιος ἓν δὲ περὶ Τετε-
ιμούθιος τῆς Ταυῆτος ἥ ἐστιν

[1] This seems the obvious interpretation, but ὡραίων is so colorless a word that without more context any attempt at translation is hazardous. For example, in ATHENÆUS, *Deipnosophistae*, 116 E, ὡραῖα *sc.* ταριχη sometimes means fish "pickled in the season."

[2] Strictly, "easily carried off by perspiration."

15 Πτολεμαίου θυγατὴρ καὶ
ενεσ . εσι . ν ἔθηκα . . .
. . . . . .

IV. A LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Cairo Museum 10248. 25.1 × 12.5 cm. Second century B. C.

Polycrates writes to Philoxenus that he has sent Glaucias to consult him about matters, and asks a hearing for him. Glaucias was probably the bearer of the letter, which is a good example of the ἐπιστολὴ συστατική, 2 Corinthians 3:1. The date in the twenty-ninth year would refer either to Philometor, *i. e.*, 152 B. C., or to Euergetes II., *i. e.*, 141 B. C. The hand is a large cursive. The address, Φιλοξένωι, is written on the *verso*.

Πολ[υ]κράτης Φ[ιλ]οξένωι
χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ
τἄλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον ἐστὶν
εἴη ἂν ὡς αἱρούμεθα καὶ
5 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑγιαίνομεν.
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠβουλόμεθα
ἀπεστάλκαμεν πρός σε
Γλαυκίαν ὄντα ἡμῶν
ἴδιον κοινολογησόμενόν σοι.
10 χαριεῖ οὖν ἀκούσας
αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὧν παρα-
γέγονεν ὑποδείξας,
μάλιστα δὲ σαυτοῦ ἐπι-
μελόμενος ἵν' ὑγιαίνηις.
15 ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους)κθ Φαμενώ(θ) η[
Verso Φιλοξένωι

2 The salutations in Ptolemaic letters among the Petrie papyri closely resemble that of this letter. τὰ λοιπά is usual where this papyrus has τἄλλα, *Petrie Papyri*, ed. 1891–93, Part II, No. XI, p. [27] (1) 1, (2) 1. In its place Professor Mahaffy has restored πάντα in No. XIII (6), Part II, p. [37] 1, doubtless through considerations of space. The analogy of the usual τὰ λοιπά, however, and the occurrence of τἄλλα in this letter strongly suggest the restoration τἄλλα instead of πάντα, for which it is a precise space equivalent. Again, in the Petrie letters κατὰ γνώμην occurs in both the letters of Polycrates already cited (No. XI) for the κατὰ λόγον of No. XIII (6) and this papyrus.

V. A PROMISE TO PAY

Cairo Museum 10375. 9.6 × 5.1 cm. Second century B. C. From Gebelên.

Peteuris promises to pay five talents of copper for *στέφανος*. Cairo Museum 10374 and British Museum Pap. DCXXXVII (Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, xli) are similar notes of Peteuris. The hand of both the Cairo notes is a large cursive.

Παρὰ Πετεύριος
διεθέντος μου
διὰ τῆς σῆς σπ-
ουδῆς ὑπάρξει
5 σοι εἰς στέφανον
χαλκοῦ (τάλαντα) πέν-
τε γ(ίνεται) (τάλαντα) ε
εὐτύχει

2 *l.* διαθέντος. Brit. Mus. Pap. DCXXXVII (*Greek Papyri*, I, xli) has διέθεντο μου; but Cairo Museum 10374 reads διεθεντασμου.

3 Brit. Mus. Pap. DCXXXVII omits διὰ τῆς σῆς σπουδῆς.

5 στέφανος, the "national present to the king on his accession," Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, II, 39 *e;* Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, xli. For another early occurrence of the word *cf.* 1 Maccabees 10:29, cited by Mr. Kenyon, where the Jews are granted exemption ἀπὸ τῶν φόρων καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ ἁλὸς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων. But Mr. Kenyon has pointed out that payments for στεφανικόν in Roman papyri fall in the middle of reigns and consist of a series of monthly payments, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, pp. 107, 108. The view of Wilcken that, from being originally a voluntary present made to a ruler on some notable occasion, such as his accession or a visit of his to some province or city, the στέφανος (*aurum coronarium*) came to be regularly expected and then exacted, seems to cover all the facts (*Griechische Ostraka*, § 118).

VI. DEED OF LAND

Cairo Museum 10369. 7.1 × 31.1 cm. 129 B. C. From Gebelên.

Horus, son of Imouthes, makes over to his son Petosiris land in the southern plain of Crocodilopolis to the extent of four arourae, or one-fourth part of sixteen arourae, which was apparently the amount of his holding in that vicinity. The first column contains the date and title of the document, the second the abstract of the agreement. The papyrus breaks off in the midst of the description of the property. The Boethus of Col. II, 2, as Mr. Grenfell informs me, is mentioned also in *Amherst Papyri*, II, xxxvi, a petition of about 135 B. C., addressed to him as strategus and epistrategus of the Thebaid. That petition, like this papyrus, is from Gebelên.

The date furnishes an additional bit of evidence as to the supposed expulsion of Euergetes II. Mr. Grenfell has published a papyrus from the Thebaid, dated in Pharmouthi of his forty-first year;[3] and this deed, dated in Pauni of the same year, brings his supremacy in the Thebaid down at least six weeks farther.

COLUMN I

(Ἔτους) *μα* Παῦ(*νι*) *θ*
Ὁμολογία

COLUMN II

Ἔτους *μα* Παῦνι θ̄ ἐν Κροκοδίλων πόλει τοῦ Παθυρίτου ἐπ' Ἀνικήτου ἀγορανόμου.
Ὁμολογία ἣν ἐκὼν κ[*α*]ὶ συνχωρήσας ἔθετο Ὧρος Ἰμούθου Πέρσης τῶν Βοήθου
ὡς (ἐτῶν) πε[| μέσος μελ[ίχρως ὦτα . . . .
καὶ ἀφεστηκότα καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ παρακεχωρηκέναι Πετοσίρει Ὥρου τῶι ἑαυτο[ῦ υἱῶι
μέσωι μελίχρωτι τετανῶι μακροπροσώπωι εὐθύριν(*ι*) οὐλὴ καρπῶι δεξιῶι ἀπὸ τῆς
[ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῶι
5 ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ νότου πεδίωι Κροκοδίλων πόλεως ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ιζ ἢ ὅσου ἐὰν ἦι τὸ
(τέταρτον) μέρος ὅ ἐστιν [ἄρουραι δ, γείτονες
ὅλ]ης τῆς γῆ[ς] ν[ό]του γῆ Ἐριενούφιος τοῦ Πόρτιτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· βορρᾶ γῆ[
. . . . . .

II, 1 *Cf.* Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, xix, similarly dated in the forty-first year, ἐπ' Ἀνικήτου ἀγορανόμου.
4 τετανῶι, "smooth-faced."

VII. OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

Cairo Museum 10256. 16 × 21.5 cm. 119–118 B. C. From the Fayûm.

This fragment of official accounts occupies the *verso* of a record of payments in corn. The hand is uncial, written across the fibers. There are two incomplete columns. The first, which is printed here, contains the date and reports from an acting overseer of granaries in the *meris* of Heraclides, and from a βασιλικὸς γραμματεύς of the *merides* of Themistes and Polemo.

COLUMN I

Βα[σ]ι[λ]ευόντων Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ
Κλεοπάτρας τῆς γυναικὸς θεῶν
Εὐεργετῶν ἔτου[ς] νβ παρὰ Κολ-

[3] *Cf.* GRENFELL, *Greek Papyri*, I, p. 42.

5 λούθου τοῦ σιτολογοῦντός τινας
τόπους τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος
μηνιεῖος τοῦ λοιπογραφουμένου
σίτου εἰς Μεσορὴ καὶ τοῦ προσεισ-
δεδεγμένου [κ]αὶ ἀνηλωμένου
10 ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἔτους
λοιπογραφοῦται (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) [ ] B/M [
κριθῆς 'βω . . .
καὶ προσεισδεδέχθαι εἰς τὴν
μίσθωσιν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβας) υ.
15 Παρ' Ἀσκληπιάδου βασιλικοῦ γραμματέως
τῶν Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος μερίδων
τοῦ Ἀρσινοείτου πρὸς τοὺς χιρισμοὺ τῶν
μέχρι τοῦ ν (ἔτους) σιτολόγων λοιπογραφοῦντ[αι
εἰς Φ[αμ]ενὼθ τοῦ νβ (ἔτους)[ ] . . . . . [
20 . . . . . .]ς προχίρισθε[
συγγενο]ῦς καὶ στρατη[γοῦ
. . . . . .

A second very fragmentary column follows.

7 *l.* μηνιαῖος *sc.* λόγος. On λοιπογραφέω, "to allow to run in arrears," *cf.* C. I. G. 2335, an inscription of the first century B. C., ll. 23, 24, ἐλοιπογράφησεν χωρὶς ἀργυρίου κομιδῆς παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου; and *Fayûm Towns*, p. 261, l. 7, a papyrus of the early first century.

11 B/M = 20,000.

17 *l.* χειρισμοὺς

VIII. A LOAN CONTRACT

Cairo Museum 10366. 7.6 × 9.2 cm. 111 B. C.

A loan of ten talents apparently for about two months is contracted for. The authors of the *Inventory* have noted the identity of the second hand with the hand of Cairo Museum 10370 *b*, a memorandum of loan made at Pathyris in the eighth year when Sosus was *agoranomus*. Mr. Grenfell has published two documents, *Greek Papyri*, I, pp. 54–7, dated ἐπὶ Σώσου ἀγορανόμου in the fifth and eighth years of Cleopatra III. and Soter II.; and the date of this loan contract is thus fixed as 111 B. C.

Ἔτους ζ Φαῶφι η ἐ[πὶ Σώσου
ἀγορανόμου ἐδάνεισεν Ἐριε[νοῦπις
. . . . . Π]έρσης τῶν προσγράφων Σ[

Θοτεύτου Πέρσηι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς [χαλκοῦ νομίσ-
5 ματος] τάλαντα δεκαδύ[ο τὸ δὲ δάνειον
τοῦτο ἀ]ποδότω ὁ δεδανε[ισμένος
Ἐριενο]ύπει ἐν μηνὶ Χοίαχ[
ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδ[ῶι
. . . . . .

1 *Cf.* Cairo Museum 10370 *b*; Ἔτους η Θωὺθ δ̄ ἐν Παθύρει
ἐπὶ Σώσου ἀγορανόμου
ἐδάνεισεν Πανοβχοῦνις Νεχ-
. . . . . [The papyrus breaks off.
Cf. also Nicole, *Les Papyrus de Genève*, No. 20, an acknowledgment of 109 B. C., beginning Ἔτους η′ Μεχεὶρ β′ ἐπὶ Σώσου ἀγορανόμου.
5–8 Second hand, that of Cairo Museum 10370 *b*.

IX. MEMORANDUM OF RENT

Cairo Museum 10376. 13.2 × 6.8 cm. First century B. C. From Gebelên.

Pates, son of Panebchonis, acknowledges leasing an island called Perchmassineit for the sixteenth year, the consideration being forty-five artabæ of wheat and ten birds. The sixteenth year doubtless refers to the current reign, which may have been that of Ptolemy Alexander I., 99–98 B. C., as the hand favors a date about that time. The hand is cursive.

Παρὰ Πατῆτος τ[οῦ
Πανεβχώνιος ἐγμισ-
θωθείσης μοι τῆς
νήσου καλουμένης
5 Περχμασσινηιτ εἰς τὸ
ις (ἔτος) πυροῦ (ἀρτάβας) τεσσαράκοντα
πέντε (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) με
ὄρνιθας ι
ὑγίαινει

2 *l.* ἐκμισθωθείσης 9 *l.* ὑγίαινε

X. A MEMPHIS TAX RECEIPT

Cairo Museum 10429. 14.1 × 9 cm. A. D. 180.

Erieus, son of Anoubion, a resident of Memphis, is acknowledged to have paid four hundred drachmas as police- and poll-tax for the members of his household for the twentieth year of Commodus. The hand is a medium-sized cursive. The tax

collectors Apion and Anoubion evidently acted for two districts of Memphis, the third and the fifteenth.

Ἔτους εἰκοστοῦ Λουκίου
Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Σεβαστοῦ
Μεσορὴ δεκάτῃ. διαγ(έγραπται) Ἀπίων[ι
καὶ Ἀνουβίωνι τῷ καὶ Κολοσίωνι
5 πράκ(τορσι) ἀργυρικῶν τρίτου καὶ
πεντεκαιδεκάτου ἀμφόδων
Μέμφεως Ἐριεὺς Ἀνουβίων[ος
ὑπὲρ ἐνοίκων ἀναγραφομέ-
νων εἰς αὐτὸν λαογραφία[ς
10 καὶ φυλάκτρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτου[ς
σὺν παντὶ δραχμὰς τετρακο-
σίας (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) υ

"Twentieth year of Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus, Mesore tenth. Erieus, son of Anoubion, has paid to Apion and Anoubion, called also Colosion, collectors of the money-tax of the third and fifteenth districts of Memphis, for poll- and police-tax of the same year, for persons registered as belonging to his household, in all four hundred drachmae."

XI. RECEIPT FOR A SHIPMENT OF WINE

Cairo Museum 10486. 13 × 15.2 cm. Fourth century. Probably from Ashmunên.

This receipt is in the form of a letter in the name of Aurelius Cyrillus, the officer in charge of the importation of wine into the Thebaid, to Aurelia Charite, daughter of Amazonius, acknowledging that she had embarked one hundred and four sextarii of wine, intended for the soldiers. The writing is a medium cursive.

The Cairo Museum contains other papyri relating to the business activities of Aurelia Charite. 10465 is an acknowledgment by her of the receipt of twelve hundred talents on loan, addressed to a son of Anoubion; and 10467 is her receipt to Sarapion for some payment. *Cf.* also *Amherst Papyri*, II, p. 169, where Vienna papyri dealing with her affairs are mentioned, and another Cairo papyrus, 10476, dated A. D. 333 or 334.

Αὐρήλιος Κυρίλλος Ἑρμείου ἐπιμελητὴς
οἴνου ἀναφερομένου εἰς Θηβαίδα δι' ἐμοῦ
τοῦ πατρὸς Ἑρμείου Αὐρ(ηλίᾳ) Χαρίτῃ Ἀμαζονίου
χαίρειν. Ἐνεβάλου εἰς τὸ προσορμοῦν
5 πλοῖον εἰς εὐθενείαν τῶν γεννεοτάτων
στρατιωτῶν οἴνου λόγου ἰδιωτικ(οῦ) κανόν[ος

(δεκάτου) πάγου κώμης Σιναρχήβεως ξέστα[ς
ἰταλικ(οὺς) ἑκατὸν τέσσαρας μόνους. Παῦνι[.
Αὐρ(ήλιος) Κυρίλλος [Ἑρμ]είου ὁ προκ(είμενος) δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ πατρ[ὸς
10 Ἑρμείου
. . . . . .

5 *l.* γενναιοτάτων

XII. A CERTIFIED LIST OF TAXPAYERS

Cairo Museum 10267. 29.9 × 42 cm. A. D. 340. From Ashmunên?

The officials of a village certify upon oath to the *praepositus* of the fifteenth district of the Hermopolite nome the correctness of a list of taxpayers. The numbers $1\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $\frac{3}{4}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, etc., opposite the names indicate the number of artabae each had to pay.

Cairo Museum 10469, with its duplicate 10545, is also addressed to Aurelius Asclepiades, *praepositus* of the fifteenth district of the Hermopolite nome. In it the village officials of Prektis notify him of what persons are eligible for the office of *sitologus*. No. XIII, a deed of the following year, further describes him as a son of Adelphius and ex-magistrate (*cf. Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, I, p. 125, l. 2, A. D. 338) and councilor of Hermopolis. Berlin *Griechische Urkunden* 21 is a somewhat similar declaration written by Aurelius Silvanus two days before the present papyrus, and addressed to Aurelius Asclepiades as *praepositus* of the *fourteenth* district of the Hermopolite nome. It is written in the name of the officials of Prektis, and, like this list, is dated in the consulship of Akindynus and Proculus.

COLUMN I

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ πραι(ποσίτῳ)
(πεντεκαιδεκάτου) πάγου νομοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Κάστωρ Ταύκιος ἐφόρου
καὶ Ἰώνιος Ἀμμωνίου κ[αὶ] Σαρ[ε]ύτης Σιλβανοῦ
5 οἱ δύο κωμαρχῶν καὶ Κορνήλιος Ἀμμωνᾶτος
κοναδράριος καὶ Χωοῦς Ἡρακλῆτος
καὶ Σιλβανὸς Τκύλιος καὶ Πόλυς Σιλβανοῦ
οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ κώμης . . . . . τοῦ ὑπό σαι
πάγου χαίρειν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀμνύντες
10 τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὅρκον τῶν τὰ πάντα
νικόντων Σεβαστῶν ἡμῶν Ἀγούστων τὸ
ἐπιδοθέν σοι κατ' ἄνδρα ὑφ' ἡμῶν
τῶν δημοσίων τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῆς ιδ ἰνδικ(τίονος)

βεβαιοῦν εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀμφισβή-
15 τησιν ἔχειν πρὸς σ[ύ]στασιν τοῦ προειρη-
μένου μερισμοῦ καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι
ἢ ἔνοχοι ἐσόμεθα τῷ θείῳ ὅρκῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ τούτου
κινδύνῳ καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολογοῦμεν.
Ὑπατείας Σεπτιμίου Ἀκινδύνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
20 ἐπάρχου [το]ῦ [ἱ]εροῦ πραιτωρίου κ(α)ὶ Ποπλωνίου Προκόλ(ου)
τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου) Μ[εσ]ορὴ κβ' οἱ προκίμενοι
δημόσιοι ὠ[μ]ώσαμεν τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκιται
Αὐρήλι[ος Σι]λβανὸς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρ[ά]ματα
μὴ ἰδ[ότω]ν

8 *l.* σε 24 *l.* εἰδότων

COLUMN II

Ἔστι δὲ

	Σιλβανὸς Τκύλιος	[ ]
	Κοπρίας Τετοῦφις	a ς
	Σερῆνος Ὥρου	[ ]
5	Κορνήλιος Σώτου	a
	Ἑρμέος Κορνηλίου	⸢
	Δῖος Ταπήσιος	a ς
	Κοπρεὺς ἀδελφός	⸢
	Πέτρος Κάστορος	d
10	Κοπρεὺς Ποθῆτος	ς /
	Σιλβανὸς Τκύλιος Διογᾶς	ς /
	Κόλλουθος Ἀμμωνίου	ς /
	Πασίων Πιεῦτος	ς /
	Νεφερῶς Σώτου	ς /
15	Κάστωρ Πατάλου	ς /
	Χοῦς Σώτου	ς /

COLUMN III

	Πόλυς Σιλβανοῦ	a
	Ἑρμῖνος Ὥρου	ς /
	Κάστωρ Ἄμμωνος	a /
	Ἀμμώνιος Ἴναροῦτος	ς d
5	Κοπρεὺς Τεύκιος	ς /
	Ἡρακλῆς Πισό[ι]τος	ς /

Διογᾶς Τκύλιος ς/
Σιλβανὸς Ἁτρῆτος ς/
Ἕλενος Σόειτος ς/
Νείων Σι[λβα]νοῦ ς/
Ἑρμέος Πισ[ό]ειτος ς/
Καλελῦθις Σίρεως α
Σουτῆς Σαρμάτου α
Πεκῦσις Ἀμμωνίου ς/
Λευκοῦς Χωοῦτος ς/
Πηοῦς Ἀμμωνᾶτος ς/

COLUMN IV

Φίβις Ἡρακλ[ᾶ
Ὧρος Ἀπεσφ[
Παῆσις Ἀλλ[
Σιλβανὸς Ὥρο[υ
Χωοῦς Ἡρα[κλᾶ
Ϋἱοὶ Αλυ . [
Λευκοῦς Κ[
Πινατίων Πι[
Παυσᾶτ[ις] Χυχ[
Κερασενψω[
Δῖος Ἀνησ[
Ὀννῶφρις Κοπ[ρέως
Ἀμμώνιος Ἰμύθ[ου

XIII. A SPECIAL WARRANTY DEED

Cairo Museum 10260. 25 × 31.7 cm. (Duplicate, Cairo Museum 10259. 25 × 36 cm.) A. D. 341. From Ashmunēn.

Aurelius Silvanus, the writer of *Griechische Urkunden* 21, deeds a piece of ground in Hermopolis to Aurelius Asclepiades, the consideration being one hundred silver talents. Other papyri concerning Asclepiades have been cited in the introduction to XII. This deed is preserved in duplicate, both copies being practically complete. In both the writing is a careful cursive.

Αὐρήλιος Σιλβανὸς Ἀκῆτος μητρὸς Θερμούθιος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ξ οὐλὴ δακτύλῳ λιχανῷ ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ἀπὸ ἐπο⟨ι⟩κίας Διοδώρου τοῦ μεγά-
λου Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ Ἀδελφίου ἄρξαντι βουλ[ευ]τῃ Ἑρμουπόλεως τῆς λαμπροτάτης χαίρειν.

Ὁμολογῶ πεπρακέναι καὶ καταγεγραφηκέναι σοι κατὰ τήνδε τὴν δισσὴν ἐγ'γρα[φ]ὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

τὸ ὕπαρχόν μοι ἀπὸ δικαίου συνχωρήματος Κοπρέου ψιλὸν τόπον ἀπὸ διαθ[έσε]ως παλαιᾶς συμπτωσίμοις οἰκίας ἐπιπαίδου ἀτιχί-

5 στου οἵας ἐστὶν διαθέσεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐνοῦσι θεμελίοις σὺν τῷ ἀνήκοντι μέρι τοῦ φρέατος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρηστηρίοις καὶ ἀνήκουσι

πᾶσει καὶ εἰ[σ]όδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἑρμουπόλει ἐπ' ἐμφόδου Φρουρ[ίο]υ λιβὸς ἐν ῥύμῃ λεγομένῃ Ἀσυγ'κρη[τ]ίου γίτονες νότου

καὶ ἀπηλιώτου σου τοῦ ὠνουμένου βορρᾶ καὶ λιβὸς δημόσιαι ῥύμαι τιμῆς τῆ[ς] πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμπεφωνημένης ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν

νομίσματος ταλάντων ἑκατὸν γίν(εται) ἀργ(υρίου) (τάλαντα) ρ ἅπερ αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον παρά σου τοῦ ὠνουμένου διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, καὶ εἶναι περί

σε τὸν ὠνούμενον καὶ τοὺς παρά σου τῆς πεπραμένης σοι ὡς πρόκειται παλαιᾶς οἰκίας ἤτοι ψιλοῦ τόπου κυρίαν καὶ κράτησιν

10 χρωμένους καὶ οἰκονομοῦντας περὶ αὐτῶν καθ' ὃν ἐὰν αἱρῆσθαι τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, τῆς βεβαιώσεως

διὰ παντὸς πρὸς πᾶσαν βεβαίωσιν ἐξακολουθούσης μοι τῷ πωλοῦντι καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσασθαί με μηδὲ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπί σε τὸν

ὠνούμενον μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς παρά σου περὶ μηδενὸς τῆσδε τῆς πράσεως τρόπῳ μηδενί. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπέλθω ἢ μὴ βεβαιῶ, ἡ ἔφοδος

ἄκυρος ἔστω καὶ προσαποτίσω ἢ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπελευσόμενός σοι τῷ ὠνουμένῳ ἢ τοῖς παρά σου τά τε βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα

καὶ ἐπιτίμου ὡς ἴδιον χρέος διπλῆν τὴν τιμὴν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὴν ἴσην· καὶ μηδὲν ἧσσον ἡ πρᾶσις κυρία ὡς ἐν δη-

15 μοσίῳ ἀρχείῳ κατακειμένη, ἣν καὶ δισσήν σοι ἐξεδόμεν· ἐντεῦθεν εὐδοκῶ τῇ ἐσομένῃ δημοσιώσει, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα

οὕτως ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς γίνεσθαι ἐπερωτηθ(εὶς) ὡμολόγ(ησα). ὑπατείας Ἀντωνίου Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Πετρωνίου Προβίνου

τῶν λαμπροτάτων Φαρμοῦθι ς. Αὐρήλιος Σιλβανὸς ὁ προκίμενος πέπρακα καὶ ἀπέσχον τὴν τιμὴν ἐκ πλήρους καὶ βεβαιώσω

καὶ εὐδοκῶ τῇ ἐσομένῃ δημοσιώσει ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μέλας Διδύμου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος.

Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πινουτίων συναλλαγματογρ(άφος) δι' ἐμοῦ ἐγρ(άφη)

4 *l.* συμπτωσίμου.—*l.* ἐπιπέδου
6 *l.* ἀμφόδου
10 *l.* αἱρῆσθε
11 *l.* ἐπελεύσεσθαί

15 *l.* ἐξεδόμην.—*l.* δημοσιώσει here and in l. 18.

19 Second hand. On συναλλαγματογράφος *cf. O. P.* II, No. CCXXXVII, col. viii, l. 36.

"Aurelius Silvanus, son of Aces, his mother being Thermouthis, aged about sixty years, scar on the forefinger of the left hand, from the colony of Diodorus of the great Hermopolite nome, to Aurelius Asclepiades, son of Adelphius, ex-magistrate and councilor of most splendid Hermopolis, greeting.

"I acknowledge having sold to you and registered by this written agreement made in duplicate, from henceforth forever the waste land belonging to me by lawful cession of Kopreus, of which the condition is that it has an old collapsed house and is flat and uninclosed, or whatever its condition is, on the existing foundations, together with the part of a well pertaining thereto, and the other fixtures and all entrances and exits pertaining thereto, in the aforesaid Hermopolis, on the square of the western guardhouse, in the street called Asynkretius's; its neighbors being on the south and east yourself the grantee; on the north and west, public streets; at the price, mutually agreed upon, of one hundred silver talents, coin of the emperors, which I have here received in hand from you the grantee in full; and *I acknowledge* that with you the grantee and your agents belong the ownership and control of the old house or waste land sold to you as aforesaid; to be used and dealt with in whatever way you choose, from henceforth forever; while on me the grantor rests the absolute and unrestricted guarantee; and *I declare* that neither I nor anyone on my behalf shall on any account, in any wise, make a claim against[4] you the grantee, nor against your legal representatives, with reference to this sale; and if I make a claim or fail to carry out the guarantee, let such claim be void, and I or whoever makes a claim on my behalf shall pay you the grantee or your legal representatives in addition both the damages and expenses, and by way of penalty on my part as a personal obligation double the price, and to the public treasury the like amount; the deed of sale which I hand over to you in duplicate as deposited in the public archives, to be none the less valid. I hereby agree to the proposed registration, and, being interrogated as to whether this is duly and properly drawn up, I have assented.

"In the consulship of the most illustrious Antonius Marcellinus and Petronius Probinus Pharmouthi 6. I the aforesaid Aurelius Silvanus have made the sale and received the price in full, and I will guarantee the sale, and I agree to the proposed registration *of deed* as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Melas, son of Didymus, have written for him, as he is illiterate.

(Second hand) "Aurelius Pinoution, writer of contracts; done through me."

XIV. CONTRACT OF SURETY

Cairo Museum 10265. 19.8 × 27.9 cm. A. D. 343. Probably from Ashmunên.

The papyrus preserves the last twenty lines of a contract of surety for the transportation of corn, probably from Hermopolis to Neapolis, but some letters are gone from the beginnings of the lines. The hand is a medium-sized cursive. The date in the consulship of Placidus and Romulus recalls one of the Abinnæus documents published by Mr. Kenyon, dated ὑπατείας Φλαουίου (*l.* Φουρίου) Πλακίδου καὶ Φλαουίου Ῥωμύλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων.[5] British Museum Papyrus CCCCXX is a fragment from the same year, dated in the consulship of Furius (?) Placitus and Flavius Fromollus.[6]

[4] Or "proceed against." [5] KENYON, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 272. [6] *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

(Fragments of two lines.)

. . . . . .] ὁμοίως . αυκ[. . . . . .] . πλοίου ἰδίου ἑλληνικοῦ ἀγωγῆς (ἀρτάβας) φ . ἀπὸ τῆς ς̄

. . . . . .]αμέι ους καὶ ἐμβεβλῆσθ[αι] εἰς τὰ προκείμενα αὐτῶν πλοῖα ἀπὸ κανόνος β (ἔτους)

5 ἰνδικτίον]ος μέτρον δημοσίου σίτου καθαρωτάτου ἀρτάβας χειλίας ὀκτακοσίας οὕτως

. . . . . .] . . εν ἀρτάβας πεντακοσίας καὶ πα. ῶσιν δὲ ἀρτάβας χειλίας τριακοσίας

. . . . . .]ου ναῦλα καὶ τὸ δηνάριον ἑκάστου μοδίου καὶ τὰ ναῦλα καὶ τὸ σακκοφόρικον

. . . . . .]ς δηναρίων διακοσίων καὶ ταῦτα κατακομίσωσι ἐπὶ τὴν λαμπροτάτην Νέαν Πόλιν] καὶ παραδώσωσιν εἰς τοὺς δημοσίους τῆς Νέας Πόλεως ἐποίσαντες ἐπ' ὄνομα

10 . . . . . .] . οματα τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ προκειμένου μέτρου σίτου καὶ προσκομίσαντες

. . . .] τῆς γενομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραδόσεως. καὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὅρκον

τὴν δ]εσπο[τ]ῶν ἡμῶν Ἀγούστων τύχην καὶ μηδὲν διεψεύσθημεν ἢ ἡμεῖς ὑποστήσομεν τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐ-

τῶν] λόγον. ἡ χειρογραφία κυρία. καὶ ἐπερωτ(ηθέντες) ὡμολο(γήσαμεν). Ὑπατείας Φουρίου Πλακίδου καὶ Φλαουΐου

Ῥω]μύλλου τῶν λαμπροτάτων Μεσορὴ ιη. Αὐρήλιοι Φιλάμμων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Σύρος

15 Κε]φάλωνος ἐγγυῶμεν καὶ ὀμνύομεν τὸν θῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκειται. ἐγὼ Φιλάμμων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ

Σ]ύρου γράμματα μὴ εἰδ[ό]τος. Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρῆς πάντων ὑμῶν ἐγγυῶ καὶ ὤμοσα τὸν θεῖον ὅρκον ὡς

π]ρόκιται. Αὐρήλιος Πεντοῦχος Θασιᾶτος ἐγγυῶ καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν θῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Σαρπίω(ν)

Λ]ουκίου ἐγγυῶ καὶ ὄμοσα τὸν θῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρῆς Σερήνου καὶ Κόλλουθος

Πλουτίωνος ἐγ'γυῶμεν καὶ ὀμνύωμεν τὸν θῖον ὅρκον ὡς πρόκειται. ἐγὼ Ἀτρῆς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ

20 Κολλούθου γράμμα(τα) μὴ ε[ἰ]δότος.

3 (ἀρτάβας): papyrus ⊤ 5 *l.* χιλίας here and in l. 6.

12 *l.* Αὐγούστων. *Cf. O. P.*, I, p. 150, a declaration upon oath of the preceding year, A. D. 342, τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὅρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Αὐγούστων, ll. 15, 17. Constantius and Constans are meant.

13 The cramped hand of Philammon begins with ὑπατείας.

15 *l.* θεῖον here and in ll. 17, 18, 19 below.

16 Third hand begins with Αὐρήλιος.

17 Fourth hand begins with Αὐρήλιος Πεντοῦχος.—*l.* πρόκειται.—*l.* ὤμοσα here and in l. 18.—Fifth hand begins with Αὐρήλιος Σαραπίω(ν).

18 Sixth hand begins with Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρῆς.

19 *l.* ὀμνύομεν

XV. COMPLAINT OF AURELIA

Cairo Museum 10269. 24.5 × 28.4 cm. (Duplicate, Cairo Museum 10270. 24.7 × 24.8 cm.) A. D. 362. From Ashmunēn.

Like No. XIII, this interesting document is preserved in two copies, 10269 and 10270, but neither is quite complete, nor do they always agree in language. The body of the document is by the same scribe in both. The hand is a cursive of medium size. The variants of 10270 are here appended to the text of 10269.

The complaint, which is in very poor Greek, is addressed to the *riparii* of the Hermopolite nome and has to do with an attempt made by one Isakis and certain women to disturb the complainant Aurelia in her well-established and rightful possession of a piece of land. They had destroyed her improvements, and even offered violence to her people and herself. The affair seems to have been the outgrowth of a feud of long standing, since Aurelia charges Isakis with having driven her husband from the community, and with putting forth systematic efforts to force her to follow him, in order to possess himself of her property.

Ὑπατείας Μαμερτίου καὶ Εὐουιτ'ταυ τῶν λαμπροτάτων.

Αὐρηλίοις Νίλῳ Γενναδίῳ καὶ Θεοδώρῳ Κωμασίῳ ῥιπαρίοις νομοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου,

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Εὐτὸς Φ[ί]βιο[ς ἀ]πὸ ἐποίκου Παπλώου τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἑρμοπολείτου νομοῦ· τὰ τετολμημένα

εἰς ἐμὲ ἐν τοιαύτῃ πρ[υ]τα[ν]ευομένῃ εἰρήνῃ τοῦ δεσπότου [ἡ]μῶν βασιλέως Φλαουίου Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου

5 Ἀ[γο]ύστου οὐ χρὴ ἀνεκ[δί]κητα περιοφθῆναι. ἐπὶ τοίνυν κέκτημαι ἔπαυλιν κατ' ἔνγραφον ἀσφάλειαν

ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης [πρ]ὸ ιϛ ἐνιαυτῶν καὶ ἐκ βορρᾶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαύλεως αἰώνημαι ψιλὸν τόπον

σὺν ἔνοντι φρέατος παρὰ Τασοῦτος μητὴρ Ταυρίνου [ἐ]πὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τῆς ἐπαύλεως καὶ τοῦ

ψιλοῦ τόπου ἔσχον νομὴν [ἐ]πὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἅμα τες πράσεσι, τὴν οἰκοδομὴν πεποίημαι τοῦ ψιλοῦ

τόπου καὶ τοῦ λάκκου κεχωσμένου τὴν ἀναβολὴν πεποίημαι καὶ τὸν ποτισμὸν ἐποίουν ἀπὸ τοῦ

10 φρέατοις τοῖς βοεικοῖ[ς μου κ]τήσει μέχρις τοῦ παρελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ· καὶ πάντες γινώσκουσι

οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης τὸ τῆς [δ]εσπ[οτ]είας καὶ τὸ τῆς νομῆς. νῦν δὲ ἠρξάμην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ποιήσασθαι

τοῦ πεπτωκότος τοίχου. οὐκοῦν ὅπως Ἴσακις Ἀμμωνίωνος καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴ Ταπίωμις

καὶ Ἑ[λ]ένη Πανίτιος καὶ Ἑ[λ]ένη γυνὴ Πετερσῶτος καὶ Τα [.] . . . εν . . . ς ἐπῆλθάν μοι βουλόμενοι

τέλε[ο]ν με ἀναιλεῖν ὥσπερ ἐπανγέλλονταί μοι καθ' ἕκαστα, εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον βοήθειαν, Τάησιν καὶ

15 τὴν ταύτης ἀδελφὴν [Σ]οφείαν· τὴν μὲν Τάησιν βαρέαν οὖσαν ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν αὐτῶν ἐξέτρω-

σεν τὸ βρέφος τὴν δὲ Σοφίαν τὸ ὄνυδιν αὐτῆς ἀφήρπασαν, καὶ ν[ῦ]ν π[αρ'] αὐτοῖς ἐστιν· καὶ τὸν

τοῖχον κατάβαλαν τοῦ ψιλοῦ τόπου τυραννικῷ τρόπῳ, βουλόμ[εν]οι ἀφαρπάσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ

τὰ οἰκόπεδα καὶ τὴν ἐν συνπτώσει οἰκείαν τῆς μητρός μου ἔν[γισ]τα τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἔχουσα

μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς πράσις· καὶ ἐφανέρωσα τῇ μονῇ καὶ τῷ βοηθῷ [το]ῦ πραιποσίτου. θαρρῶν

20 ὁ αὐτὸς Ἴσακις τοῖς χρήμασι αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πλούτου βούλεταί μ[α]ι ἐξελάσαι ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης

ὥσπερ τὸν πατέραν τῶν πεδίων μου ἐφυγάδευσεν καὶ νῦν ἐν ἀλλοδαπῆς τὴν διατριβὴν ποιούμενος, σήμερον δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀρουρῶν πεντήκοντα ἀβροχίσ[τ]ου τελῶ. ἐξοφθαλμιάσας

ὁ ἐνγεγραμμένος τοῖς ἐμοῖς καμάτοις ὥσπερ πολλοὺς . [. . .] . [. . .] ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης διὰ τὴν τῶν

χρημάτων στῆνος· ὅθεν μὴ δυναμένη ἀφησυχάζειν προ[. . . . .] ἠπίχθ[ην] ἐπιδοῦναι

25 τῇ ὑμῶν εὐσεβείᾳ [ταῦτα τὰ βίβ]λια ἀξιοῦσα τ . . . [13 letters] φροντίδι

τὴν [.] . . λύειν τῶν [.] ε [12 letters] πευτῳν ο [22 letters] . . εν τοις

28 letters] α [30 letters] . . εὐτυχεῖται

4 final η of εἰρήνη suppl. corr.

5 l. Αὐγούστου.—l. ἐπεὶ

6 l. ἐώνημαι

7 l. φρέατι.—l. μητρὸς

8 *l.* *ταῖς*
10 *l.* *φρέατος.*—*l.* *κτήνεσι*
13 *l.* *ἐπῆλθόν*
14 *l.* *ἀνελεῖν*
16 *l.* *ἐξέτρωσαν.*—*ὄνυδιν*, perhaps for some such word as *ἐνύδριον*, "water jar."
18 *l.* *ἔχουσαν*
19 *l.* *πράσεις*
21 *l.* *πατέρα.*—*l.* *παιδίων.*—*l.* *ἀλλοδαπαῖς*
22 *l.* *ποιούμενον*
23 *τὴν l.* *τὸ*
24 *l.* *στεῖνος.*—*l.* *ἐπήχθην*
27 *l.* *εὐτυχεῖτε*

The variants of Cairo Museum 10270 are as follows :

l. 3 om. *νομοῦ.* 4 om. *Φλαουίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.* 5 *κατενγραφην.* 7 *σὺν τῷ ἐνόντι λάκκῳ.* 10 *λάκκου* for *φρέατοις* | *κτήσι* ? 11 om. *τὸ τῆς* before *νομῆς.* 12 om. *ἡ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν.* For *καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴ . . . . ἀφήρπασαν*, l. 16, *l.* *καὶ Ταπιῶμις γυνὴ Σερήνου καὶ οἱ συνγενεῖς αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπῆλθον ἐμοὶ, καὶ Ταῆσιν Ὀννωφρ[.]ου βαρέα οὖσαν καὶ ἐκτέτρωκεν τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὸ[τὴν ν] ἀδελφὴν Σοφείαν ἀπέσπασαν τὸ ἄνυδιν τῆς αὐτῆς Σοφίας.* 17 add *οἰκοδομηθέν* before *τοῖχον* | *κατέβαλαν.* 18 om. *ἔχουσα* | add *ἁρπάσαι ἔχων* after *ἐπαύλεως.* 19 *πρεποσίτου.* 20 *μαι* ? for *με.*

Verso *λιβέλλους . . . . . ε . φιας[ ] ἀπὸ Παπλώου.*

"In the consulship of the most illustrious Mamertius and Evittau. To Aurelius Nilus Gennadius and Aurelius Theodorus Comasius, *riparii* of the Hermopolite nome, from Aurelia Eus, daughter of Fabius, from the colony of Paplous of the same Hermopolite nome. It is not meet that the things perpetrated against me in the tranquillity enjoyed under our lord king Flavius Julianus, eternal Augustus, should be let pass unpunished. Since therefore sixteen years ago I obtained upon written guarantee a yard in the aforesaid village, and purchased at the same time on the north of the aforesaid yard a piece of vacant land with the cistern that was on it from Tasous, mother of Taurinus, and acquired for the same period the right of pasturage of both the yard and the vacant land along with the purchase, I undertook the building of the waste land, and restored the embankment of the cistern which was filled up, and up to the past year I have procured water for my oxen from this cistern, and all who belong to the village know the fact both of the ownership and of the right of pasturage. And now I had undertaken to rebuild the wall which had fallen. How therefore Isakis, son of Ammonion, and Tapiomis his sister (*dupl.* wife of Serenus), and Helen, daughter of Panitis, and Helen, wife of Ptersous, came upon me wishing to make an end of me, as they particularly declare, I have made known both to the establishment[7] of the *praepositus* and to his assistant. *And they would have succeeded* had I not found help in Taesis and her sister Sophia. To Taesis who was pregnant they occasioned by their violence the miscarriage of her child, and from Sophia they took away her

[7] Μονή may mean "monastery," as in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, II, p. 333, l. 2, a document of the sixth or seventh century, but that meaning does not seem possible here.

ὄνυδιν (ἄνυδιν) which is still in their possession. And they lawlessly pulled down the newly built wall of the vacant land, desiring to rob me of the lands and of my mother's ruined house, which is close to the yard, although I was in possession of the deeds. The aforesaid Isakis, relying on his means and wealth, wishes to drive me from the village, just as he drove forth the father of my children, who is still tarrying in foreign parts, so that today I am paying taxes upon fifty arourae of uninundated land. The accused being blind to my distresses just as . . . . . many . . . . . from the village on account of pecuniary straits; wherefore, as I am unable to have any rest, I am driven to submit to your piety this petition. . . . . Farewell."

II. THE ALEXANDER PAPYRI

Papyri XVI–XXVII are from the collection made by the Reverend J. R. Alexander, of Asiût, Egypt, and lately deposited by him in the Museum of Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania. My especial thanks are due Dr. Alexander, not only for placing these pieces in my hands for publication, but also because it was through his efforts that my first considerable acquisition of Greek papyri was made. The Alexander papyri seem to come from Kôm Ushîm—Karanis—and to belong to the middle of the second century after Christ. Eight of them are grain receipts of the types so abundantly represented at Berlin and Chicago. Four of these—XVI, XXI, XXII, XXIV—are in the official hand which appears in fifty-five of the Chicago receipts and in thirteen of the Berlin pieces. The Berlin Museum contains 43 such grain receipts, my own collection 91, and the Alexander collection 8, making a total of 142. The Alexander receipts, like the others, are prevailingly from the twenty-second year of Antoninus, A. D. 158–59, the only exception being XVII, which is dated A. D. 144–45. This is the earliest date I have observed among the Alexander pieces. The cleruchies represented are 2, 42, 61, 62, 78, 82, 83, 88, 94, of which 82 and 88 had no representation among the Berlin and Chicago receipts. The Chicago receipts have been published in the University of Chicago *Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. III, pp. 1–66. Mr. Grenfell has pointed out to me that the explanations of the receipts there made require some modification. The position (*op. cit.*, p. 9) that the *μεμετρήμεθα* receipt in the British Museum (Papyrus CCCXV) and similar documents have to do with such advances of seed grain as the present receipts deal with is no longer tenable (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I, pp. 43, 44). As to the one-to-one rate of grain distribution (p. 12), it seems to have been confined to *βασιλικὴ γῆ* (Wilcken, *Ostraka*, I, p. 777; *Archiv*, I, p. 150). *γῆ προσόδου* (p. 14) means confiscated land which was afterward sold (*Archiv*, I, p. 149). Mr. Grenfell suggests that *οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλοπάτορος* (p. 16) were (*δημόσιοι*) *γεωργοί* from Philopator, who cultivated land at Karanis (*Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, No. 81). Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt now favor Mr. Kenyon's *γ]εωργ(ῶν)* instead of *κω]μαρχ(ῶν)* in *Brit. Mus. Pap.* CCCXV, 9 (p. 9).

The grain receipts below are arranged in the order of their cleruchy numbers.

XVI. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 2

Westminster College 1. 10.2 × 4.3 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushim. In the official hand.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). Ἔσχον προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρα(φον) σπερμάτ(ων) κβ (ἔτους)
Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου $\overline{\beta}$ κληρ(ουχίας)
Μύσθης Πεθέως Καρ(ανίδος) βασιλ(ικῆς) ϟ γ ϛ

3 (γῆ) βασιλ(ική), "domain land."—ἀρουρῶν $3\frac{1}{2}$

XVII. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 42

Westminster College 2. 6.3 × 8.3 cm. A. D. 144–45. From Kôm Ushim.

Σπερμάτων η (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου μβ κλη-
ρουχιῶν Πτολε(μαῖος) ἀπάτωρ
Καρ(ανίδος) ϟ β $\overline{\text{L η ις}}$ Πατ(σώντεως)
ϟ α δ η $\overline{\text{ις}}$

2 κληρουχιῶν is certain, but elsewhere in such papyri the genitive singular appears when this word is fully written.
4 ἀρουρῶν $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$
5 ἀρουρῶν $1\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{16}$

XVIII. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 61

Westminster College 3. 10.1 × 4.7 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushim.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ [(ἔτους)] Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου ξα κληρ(ου)χ(ίας) Καμηλ(ιανῆς) Ψεν(αρψενήσεως)
Ἰσχυριᾶς Ευν(. . .) . + γ

3 πυροῦ ἀρτάβας 3

XIX. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 62

Westminster College 4. 7.2 × 5.3 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushim.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Καρανίδ(ος). Ἔσχ(ον)
προσφω(ρὰν) σπερ(μάτων) κβ (ἔτους)
Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος

τοῦ κυρίου ξβ κληρουχία(ς)
5 Πτολεμαῖος Ὀρσενούφεως
Πατσώντεως βασιλικ(ῆς) ϟ $\overline{\gamma}$

2 προσφω(ράν) was Wilcken's expansion of the same abbreviation in Berlin *Griechische Urkunden*, Nos. 279, 720. *Cf. Studies in Cl. Phil.*, III, Nos. *11* and *19*.
5 Second hand begins with Πτολεμαῖος.
6 (γῆ) βασιλικ(ή), "domain land."—ἀρουρῶν 3

XX. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 78

Westminster College 5. 10.7 × 5.7 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushîm.

Σπερμ(άτων) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου $\overline{\text{οη}}$ κληρουχ(ίας) Πέτα-
λος Πτολεμαίου Πατσώντ(εως) βασι(λικῆς)
Πέταλος Πτολεμαίου ἔσχον τὰ
5 σπέρματα.

3 For βασι(λικῆς)—"domain land"—possibly κώ(μης)? No amount is given.
4 Second hand begins with Πέταλος.

XXI. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 82

Westminster College 6. 10.1 × 4.4 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushîm. In the official hand.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). Ἔσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρα(φον) σπερμάτ(ων)
κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου πβ κλη(ρουχίας)
Πτολεμαῖος Σαταβοῦτος Πατ(σώντεως) βασιλ(ικῆς) ϟ θ ∂ η

2 Second hand begins with πβ κλη(ρουχίας).
3 (γῆ)βασιλ(ική), "domain land."—ἀρουρῶν 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$

XXII. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 83

Westminster College 7. 9.7 × 5.6 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushîm. In the official hand.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). Ἔσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρα(φον) σπερμάτ(ων)
κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου $\overline{\text{πγ}}$ κλη(ρου)χ(ίας)
Χαιρήμων Ἡρᾶ Καρ(ανίδος) αἰγιαλοῦ
ϟ δ L $\overline{\text{η λο ξο}}$

3 Second hand begins with Χαιρήμων. αἰγιαλοῦ probably means that the acres tilled by Chaeremon were on the shores of Lake Moeris, not far east of which Karanis lay; but compare Βερνικίδος Αἰγιαλοῦ, "Berenicis-on-shore," *Fayûm Towns*, Nos. 82 and 342.

4 ἀρουρῶν 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{64}$

XXIII. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 88

Westminster College 8. 11.8 × 5 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushîm.

Σπερμάτων κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου $\overline{\text{πη}}$ κληρουχίας Ἰσίδωρος Ἀχιλλᾶ
καὶ Ὀννῶφρις Συρίωνος Καρανίδος
βασι(λικῆς) +. δ

4 (γῆ) βασι(λική), "domain land."—πυροῦ ἀρτάβας 4

XXIV. GRAIN RECEIPT: CLERUCHY 94

Westminster College 9. 8 × 5.6 cm. A. D. 158–59. From Kôm Ushîm. In the official hand.

Σιτολ(όγοις) Κ(α)ρανίδ(ος). Ἔσχ(ον) προ(χρείαν) χειρόγρα(φον)
σπερμάτ(ων) κβ (ἔτους) Ἀντωνείνου Καίσαρος
τοῦ κυρίου ϛδ κληρουχ(ίας)
Λιβυκ(ὸς) Δημ(ητρίου) Κερκ(εσούχων) προσ(ό)δ(ου) ϟ ε L
5 Ψεναρ(ψενήσεως) Καμηλ(ιανῆς) ϟ γ Πατ(σώντεως)
ϟ γ L′ + ιγ

4 προσ(ό)δ(ου)(γῆ), confiscated land, Wilcken, *Archiv*, I, pp. 148, 149; Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 207.—ἀρουρῶν 5$\frac{1}{2}$

5 Καμηλ(ιανῆς) *sc.* οὐσίας.—ἀρουρῶν 3

6 ἀρουρῶν 3$\frac{1}{2}$. πυροῦ ἀρτάβας 13. The rate here is 1$\frac{1}{12}$ to 1.

XXV. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF EMBANKMENT SERVICE

Westminster College 10. 9 × 7.5 cm. A. D. 161. From Kôm Ushîm.

Pnepheros, son of Petheus, is acknowledged to have worked the regular five days, in this case Thoth 12 to 16, on the embankments. While such receipts are not uncommon, *Fayûm Towns*, No. 79, presents a more than usually close parallel to this acknowledgment.

Ἔτους β′ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνείνου
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου Σεβαστοῦ.
5 Εἴργ(ασται) ὑπ(ὲρ) χω(ματικῶν) το(ῦ) διεληλ(υθότος)
α (ἔτους) Θὼθ ιβ̅ ἕως
ις ἐν ὀρινῇ Πατ(σώντεως) Καρανίδος
Πνεφε(ρῶς) Πεθ(έως) το(ῦ) Πνεφερῶτος
πα(τρὸς) Πεθέως

5 ἐν ὀρινῇ (διώρυχι), "on the desert canal;" *cf.* Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 207, and Berlin *Griechische Urkunden*, 722, where the same canal ὀρινὴ Πατ(σώντεως) seems to be mentioned.
9 *l.* μη(τρὸς)

XXVI. A DATE

Westminster College 11. 10.7 × 4 cm. A. D. 163–64. From Kôm Ushîm?

(Ἔτους) δ Ἀντωνείνου καὶ
Οὐ]ήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶ[ν
. .] . .

XXVII. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF PAYMENT

Westminster College 12. 9.2 × 14.5 cm. Second century A. D. Probably from Kôm Ushîm.

Anchophis acknowledges to Leonides the receipt of 120 drachmae in payment for the fixtures of certain premises in Karanis occupied by Leonides, who seems to have been the son of Anchophis. The right of living on the premises is shared by Leonides with another, the son of Petaus, and had been the subject of an earlier ὁμολογία. On ἐνοίκησις *cf. Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, No. 339.

. . . . . .
ον [. . . . . οὐλ(ὴ) γόν]ατι . . . . . [
Λεωνίδηι Ἀγχώφεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λη οὐλ(ὴ) μετώ(πῳ)
ἐγ δεξιῶν ἀπέχειν παρ' αὐτοῦ παραχρῆ-
5 μα διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰ[ς
ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι αἳ εἰσὶν τιμῆς φορ-
τίων τῶν ὄντων ἐν οἷς δέδωκεν
ὁ Ἀγχῶφις τῶι Λεωνίδηι εἰς ἐνοίκη[σιν
τόποις ἐν Καρανίδι ἀκολουθῶς ἧι

10 πεποίηται εἰς αὐτὸν ὁμολογίᾳ ἥν-
περ ἐνοίκησιν καὶ μεταδεδωκέναι τὸν
Λεωνίδην τὸν αὐτὸν τ⟨ρ⟩όπον Σ̣τ̣ο̣τ̣ο̣ῆτ̣[ι
Πεταῦτος καὶ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι τὸν
Ἀγχῶφιν μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν
15 Λεωνίδην μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ
περὶ τούτων τρόπωι μηδενί. ὑπογραφεὺς
τοῦ ὁμολογοῦν(τος) Ἥρων Σ̣α̣τ̣ύ̣ρ̣ο̣υ̣ ὡς (ἐτῶν) λε ⟨οὐλ(ὴ)⟩ μετώ(πωι)
μέσῳ

III. CHICAGO PAPYRI

XXVIII. BOAT TICKET

The editor's collection 94. 6 × 9 cm. Second century A. D. From Kôm Ushîm.

This slip seems to have been a passenger's ticket for transportation on the canal passing through Karanis. A similar slip has been published by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt (*Amherst Papyri*, II, p. 149), and their suggestion as to the nature of that papyrus seems confirmed by the word κυβ(ερνήτης) in the present one.

Πτολεμαῖος [[ψ]] Πανομιέως
ἐπίπλους ἀπὸ Καρανίδος
Ἰσιδώρου Ἰσιδώρου κυβ(ερνήτου)
ἴσος πλήρης

"Ptolemy, son of Panomieus, passenger from Karanis. Isidorus, son of Isidorus, pilot. Even full."

The Amherst ticket is less complete. It reads:

Βακχιάδος ἐπίπλοοι·
Ἀλεξᾶς Ἐκ[ύ]σ̣ε̣ω̣ς̣,
Κοπρῆς Πουβλε(?)

and the *verso* has Βακχιάδος. Bacchias and Karanis lay near each other, Bacchias on what is now the Bahr Wardân, Karanis probably near the same canal and about five miles away to the southwest. The only difficulty with the Karanis ticket is in the last words, ἴσος πλήρης. In Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, II, p. 75, l. 7, ἐπίπλοοι is used of men in charge of the cargo of a boat, *i. e.*, the supercargo. If ἐπίπλους has that meaning here, ἴσος πλήρης may refer to the proportion of the boat's cargo in his charge.

XXIX. LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

The editor's collection 95. 55.2 × 7.5 cm. *Ca.* A. D. 150. From Kôm Ushîm.

These records are written in a bold, clear, semi-uncial hand, in broad, well-spaced columns, parts of three of which are preserved. Other *ἀντίγραφα ὑπομνηματισμῶν* recording legal proceedings in language much like the following are Berlin *Gr. Urk.* 136 and 388, both probably from the second century, and *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Nos. 37 and 40. The document deals with the will of Amatius Priscus, a Roman soldier, for whose estate two claimants, a sister and a daughter, had appeared. The reading of the will showed that two women were to share the estate equally, and Rufus, representing one of them, immediately asks that a *μεσίτης* be appointed, doubtless to appraise the properties involved, with a view to the restoration by the defendant, who seems to have been the testator's sister, of the proportion due his daughter, the plaintiff.

While the date is gone, the statement that the will was made in the twelfth year of the deified Hadrian—A. D. 127–28—supplies us with A. D. 136 as a *terminus a quo*, since Hadrian could not be spoken of as deified (*θείου*) if he were still living. Again, references to an Amatia Prisca, also called Lucia (*Ἀματία Πρείσκα ἡ καὶ Λουκία*), in a British Museum papyrus dated A. D. 168 (Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, II, p. 212), clearly mean the daughter of this Amatius. That papyrus is concerned with her husband's management of her maternal inheritance with which she had been dealing, in the Roman fashion, independently of him. From her *μητρικά* she had made a loan to one Antonius Tiberinus, but her husband Sarapion, who has not consented to the loan, compels the restoration of the money, for which the British Museum document is his receipt. Lucia's father may have outlived her mother, and she thus have been in possession of her *μητρικά* before his death, which would account for her having made her loan to Antonius Tiberinus from property that had come to her from her mother. In any case these legal proceedings probably fall not far from the date of the British Museum receipt, A. D. 168.

The papyrus came into my hands in the form of a short roll, and the condition of the innermost edge makes it probable that the third column of the fragment was the last one of the complete roll, a suggestion corroborated by the contents of that column, where a decision is evidently being reached.

COLUMN I

Twenty letters gone.]*τη Ἀματίου τοῦ στρατι-*
ώτου . . . . .] *δ' ἐὰν τοῦ τῆς μη-*
. . . . . .

COLUMN II

Νόμον κα[*ὶ*] *ὑπέταξε τὴν συνηγορουμένην οὖσαν*
αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν καὶ Λουκίαν τίνα Ἀματίου θυγατέρα

ἀλλ' ἔστω αὐτὴ Λουκία Ἀματίου θυγατὴρ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει
θε[ίο]υ Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ ἡ διαθήκη γέγραπται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ
5 Π]ρείσκου [ἀπο]θανόντος ου . . . . . εμας κληρονόμος
. . . . . .] . εν του αρπ[. . .] μητὴρ
. . . . . .

COLUMN III

Πρε[ί]σκου ἧς ἀναγνωσθείσης . . εραμ[. .
μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ εἶπεν· κατὰ τὴν
διαθήκην τοῦ στρατιώτου Ἀματίου Πρείσκου
ὁ κλῆρος ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέραις προσήκει Ῥοῦφος
5 εἶπεν ἐάν σοι δόξῃ μεσείτην ἡμεῖν δὸς ἵνα ἡ ἀν-
τίδικος ἀποκαταστήσῃ τῇ συνηγορουμένῃ τὸ
. . . . . .

COLUMN III

". . . . And when it [the will] had been read . . . . among those in the council said: According to the will of the soldier Amatius Priscus, the inheritance belongs to both in equal shares. Rufus said: If it seems good to you, give us an arbiter in order that the defendant may restore to the plaintiff the . . . ."

XXX. ACCOUNTS

The editor's collection 96. 251.7 × 22 cm. A. D. 191-92. From Kôm Ushîm.

Of the Greek papyri which came into my possession from Kôm Ushîm (the ancient Karanis) in 1897, the largest was a roll of accounts. The papyrus had been tightly rolled and then the roll doubled, somewhat to the detriment of the accounts. The great length of this papyrus—over eight feet—and the number of months it covers make it rather more representative in the character and variety of its items than shorter fragments of accounts are likely to be. In its forty-seven columns are preserved over twelve hundred items of receipts and expenditures, and a somewhat unusual glimpse is thus afforded of the business relations sustained by a second-century man of affairs in the Fayûm.

While the date of the document is nowhere explicitly given and no emperor is named, two items, the second and third in Col. 5, supply a decisive hint. They mention payments of 112 drachmae "balance for the thirty-first year," and of 176 drachmae "on account for the thirty-second year." The papyri found with this roll date in general from the latter half of the second century after Christ. The only regnal years in this period running as high as thirty-one and thirty-two are those of Commodus, whose habit of reckoning his own reign from the beginning of his predeces-

sor's is well known. This would give A. D. 191–92 for the date of these accounts, and with this assignment the character of the writing and the provenance of the document fully agree.[8] The months named in the roll are seven: Athur (Col. 4), Tybi (Cols. 1, 10), Choiak (Cols. 10, 11, 16), Mecheir (Cols. 19–25), Phamenoth (Cols. 23–33), Pharmouthi (Cols. 33–45), and Pachon (Col. 45). The time covered by the accounts is thus roughly from October, A. D. 191, to April, A. D. 192.

Upon the manner in which these accounts were made up, a marginal note written in opposite the fifth item of Col. 4 throws some light. The item reads:

ἀ(νηλώθησαν) Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Ἀθὺρ πλινθευτ(αῖς) (*δραχμαὶ*) *τ*

The note runs: *ἐν πιττακίῳ Σωτη-*
ρίχῳ ἐτάγη καὶ ἐν
χιριστικοῖς οὐχ εὑρ(ίσκεται)

The accountant's custom seems to have been to accumulate the items upon his tablets for some days or weeks, then to copy them into his roll, which served as a sort of journal, while his *χειριστικά* constituted a kind of day book. The use of *πιττάκια* for "receipts," rarely "accounts," in Oxyrhynchus papyri of the sixth and seventh centuries[9] suggests that, notwithstanding the difference in time, the word here has reference to receipts and similar documents, in which case this note would mean that, although the writer found himself with Soterichus's receipt for 300 drachmae, the payment was not noted in the writer's memoranda. The accountant's method of copying several days' items in at a sitting is further evidenced by the appearance of the writing, which, though all apparently from one hand, at certain points shows such abrupt changes as difference in the ink, and the freshness or bluntness of the reed pen, and such circumstances of writing as posture, haste, etc., would occasion. The *χειριστικά* might be preserved, and would constitute a very necessary commentary on such bare items as From Hatres, To Horion, etc.

From the accountant's point of view these accounts are of further interest as suggesting a method much like modern double-entry bookkeeping. In double entry for every item debited there is a corresponding credit, and in many parts of these accounts precisely that system seems to prevail. For example, in Col. 17, ll. 7–25:

From Sotas		dr. [[6040]] dr. 920	
	To Horion		[[dr. 6040]] dr. 920
From Conchus		[[80]] dr. 40	
	To Horion		dr. [[80]] 40 [
From Hatres		dr. 100	
	To a shepherd		dr. 100
From Conchus		dr. 40	
	To [[Horion]] Kopres		dr. 40

[8] It was the late Dr. Fr. Krebs, assistant director of the Egyptian Section of the Royal Museum in Berlin, who first drew my attention to this way of dating the papyrus, and the same genial and accomplished scholar gave me many helpful suggestions in the decipherment of these accounts.

[9] *O. P.*, Nos. 136:36; 142:12, 13; 143:6; 145:7; 146:6; 153:2.

From Dioscorus for a jar (of wine)		dr. 16	
	To little Aphrodisius		dr. 16
From Sotas		dr. 180	
	To Horion		dr. 120
	Soterichus		dr. 60
From Conchus		dr. 80	
	To Soterichus		dr. 80
From Dioscorus		dr. 60	
	To Soterichus		dr. 60
From Gaius		dr. 276	
	To Soterichus		dr. 276

Col. 24 supplies an even better example:

	From Dioscorus	dr. 36	
	To Antonas for price of [. . .]		dr. 36
	From Dioscorus	dr. 72	
	To Paseinikus		dr. 12
	To myself for a receipt		dr. 8
	To Sempronius for wheat		dr. 52
	From Dioscorus	dr. 100	
	To Agrippinus for vegetables		dr. 100
	From Dioscorus	dr. 18 2 obols	
	To Pamounis [[the builder]]		dr. 18 2 obols
24	From Dioscorus	dr. 56	
	To Soterichus for Antino[		dr. 5]6
29	From Dioscorus	dr. 124	
	To Soterichus for Kopres		dr. 124
	From Dioscorus for four jars of wine	dr. 64	
	To Antonas for two (jars) of oil		dr. 32
	Agrippinus for two (baskets) of vegetables		dr. 32
	From Dioscorus for ten jars of wine for me at sixteen dr. each	dr. 160 To me for drink	dr. 160
	From Dioscorus	dr. 6100[10]	
	To a shepherd		dr. 6100[10]

From Conchus, Mecheir 2			dr. 48
] besides	dr. 60 1 obol	23 likewise	dr. 80
] likewise	dr. 100 1 obol	24 likewise	dr. 100
] on account, 7	dr. 100 1 obol	29 likewise	dr. 212
] .	dr. 100	and besides	dr. 36
]	dr. [.]	besides likewise [dr. . .	

The separate alignment of receipts and of expenditures within the same column is an accounting device peculiar, so far as my knowledge goes, to this document alone among published Greek papyri.

The items of receipt are rarely for commodities—wine at sixteen drachmae per jar, vegetables, oil, dates, the last a very large transaction, once possibly for wages (Col. 23:22)—occasionally from oil workers or vegetable sellers; but, in general, receipts are accompanied simply by the name of the payer. The most frequent contributors

[10] Or 1 talent, 100 dr.; but the amount seems an excessive one for the item.

to the writer's resources are four: Hatres, Dioscorus, Conchus, Arches—each of whom is credited with about forty payments. Sotas makes more than twenty-five, and Gaius half as many. These were probably agents or collectors of the writer's, who brought him, from time to time, such amounts as they had collected. Thus, Conchus (Col. 24:22–27) turns in, on a date not earlier than the 29th of Mecheir, collections made by him on Mecheir 2, 7, 23, 24, 29, and other dates now missing. The remittances of Hatres, Col. 15:10–13, are of a similar sort. There are also items of receipts from *μισθωταί*, "tenants," and *μισθωταὶ περιστερ(ῶνων)*, which probably means lessees of dovecotes.

The expenditures are much more numerous, varied, and interesting. Payments are made to cowherds, shepherds, donkey boys, camel men, cattle drivers, cord weavers, brickmakers, carpenters, plasterers, builders, mowers, watchmen, a *σπεκουλάτωρ*, the potter, the clothes-cleaner, the goldsmith, the cloakmaker, the lawyer, the public banker, the tax-gatherer (*τελώνης*), the Karanis collectors of the *κατοίκων*, the collectors (perhaps of the poll-tax—*λαογραφία*—Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have suggested) from Bacchias and Hephaestias. Through agents still other payments are made to oil workers and general laborers. The payments are for cattle, donkeys, pigs, pigeons, fowls, fish, water, wine, oil, raphanous oil, sweet oil, grass, hay, fodder, sesame cakes, wheat, barley, vetches, veal, meat, household expenses, capers, brimstone, salt, pease, vegetables, thread for warp, thread for woof, tow, clothing, shoes, sacks, flax (or linen), wages, change (or the tax on change), labor, illumination, harvesting, camel hire, freight, medicine, plasters, and lunch. Among these, payments of a variety of taxes are to be noted: those on money (*ἀργυρικά*), on change (*κόλλυβος*), on wine, on katoecic land, besides *συμβολή*, which possibly has some such force as *συμβολικά*, the tax for making out receipts, besides a fee to the scribe of the nome for enrolling the household, what are probably poll-tax payments—*λαογραφία*—to the *πράκτορες* of Bacchias and Hephaestias, and numerous undefined payments to the *τελῶναι*. *Cf.* Grenfell, *Gr. Papyri*, I, p. 85, where in Fayûm accounts of this same period *συνβολῆς ὀβ(ολοὶ) γ* appears.

As to the prices of labor and commodities the papyrus is not altogether silent. Wine has been shown to sell at sixteen drachmae per *κεράμιον*. Elsewhere four dozen *κεράμια* (of wine?) sell for 542 drachmae, 1 chalchus, or about $11\frac{1}{4}$ drachmae each. The price of an artaba of wheat is eighteen drachmae, and it leaves the manager's hands at the same rate, again reminding us of his spasmodic double-entry accounting. But two columns after, an artaba of wheat costs twenty drachmae. Vetches are sold at eighteen drachmae an artaba (Col. 16:21). On two occasions raphanous oil is bought for five drachmae one obol, but the quantity is not stated. Three artabae of barley are bought (Col. 33:21) for thirty drachmae, two obols one chalchus, or not quite ten drachmae one obol per artaba.

On the whole, the impression produced is of the manager of an estate, whose income is derived from rents and sales, while his expenditures are for building, labor,

and the various commodities required for the maintenance of a household. As these papyri came from Karanis, and as that place is more than once explicitly mentioned, it seems natural to suppose that his residence was there. Allusions to the neighboring Bacchias, five miles to the northeast, accord with this. The references to *ἡ πόλις* (*ἰς τὴν πόλιν, passim*) are, of course, to be interpreted of Arsinoe, the metropolis of the district.

The abbreviations and symbols in these accounts are in general the usual ones. *ὁ(μοίως)* or *ὁμ(οίως)*, *ὑ(πέρ)*, etc., requires no comment. The usual drachma sign ς, a similar *ἔτος* sign ς, ⊤ *ἀρτάβη*, ⊥. *πυροῦ ἀρτάβη*, — *ὀβολός*, = *ὀβολοὶ δύο*, ⌐ *τριώβολον*, ⌐ *τετρώβολον*, ⌐ *πεντώβολον* also occur. In printing, the abbreviations have been uniformly expanded, except in the case of the drachma sign, and the frequent symbols that distinguish receipts and expenditures. ⌊ occurs about sixty times in the latter sense, but the usual sign introducing expenditures is ₒ, which probably represents *ἀποδοθεῖσαι* or *ἀναλωθεῖσαι*. *π′* with the items of receipts suggests *παρά*, the more especially as it is followed by the genitive, and Mr. Kenyon has in at least one papyrus[11] so expanded this abbreviation; but *παρελήμφθησαν* or *παραλημφθεῖσαι* may be meant. The occasional occurrence after *π′* of what seems to be a number indicating the day of the month makes somewhat against the simplest and most attractive reading *π(αρά)*. Whether proper names like *ατρη* and *κοπρη* should be read *Ἀτρῆ(τος)* and *Κοπρῆ(τος)* is a question, but the absence from them of a superior line or letter suggesting abbreviation seems to justify treating them as complete. In general, forms have been expanded only when they are accompanied by some express sign of abbreviation.

Recto.

COLUMN I

(Fragments and traces of sixteen lines, besides seven lines entirely gone.)

l. 2 (an expenditure)] . ρ *ἐπὶ λ(όγου)* ς ρ [ ]

l. 11] *Τῦβι·* (*τάλαντον*) *πθ*(*πεντώβολον*) bracketing a summary of expenditures.

COLUMN II

	σχοινιο]*πλόκ*(*οις*)		ς [. .
	. . . . . .] *βοῶν*		ς *ιβ*
	].	ς ζ	
	. .] . *ανεζινο* .	ς *ος*	
5	*π′* *Νήσου*	ς Σ	
	π′] *Νήσου*	ς Σ	
	π]′	ς *κ*	
	Ηλι ὑ(*πὲρ*) *βοῶν*		ς *ι* (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*)
	πλινθεντῇ ἐμοῦ		ς *κ*

[11] KENYON, *Greek Papyri from the British Museum*, II, p. 76.

10 κρέως μοσχίου ς δ (τετρώβολον)
ἄλλου κρέως ὁ(μοίως) [ ]
στήμον[ο]ς ς ιβ
Ἑρμ[ῆτι] ναύλ(ου) ς ο
π′] Ἀτρῆ ς φ · [[ς[ ]η]]
15 θ[. . . . .] [ς] φ
] ἀπόκειτα[ι
[
π′ Γαίου [
α[
20 [
π′ Γαίου[
π′ Διοσκ[όρου
π′ . [.]ι . ς κ[
π′ Σώτα ς υξ [
25 π′ Κόνχ(ου) ς υξ [

1 Probably a line is lost before l. 1. For σχοινιοπλόκοις, *vid. infr.*, Col. 43 : 7, 22.
4 Perhaps π′ τ]ραπεζίτου
13 On ναύλου, "freight" or "fare," *cf. Gr. Ost.*, I, p. 386 (ναῦλον πλοίου paid to a πράκτωρ). Where the word is fully written in these accounts it is accusative, Cols. 35 : 24 ; 37 : 12 ; 38 : 21 ; 39 : 4 ; but where it is abbreviated it has been expanded to the usual ναύλου, Cols. 9 : 2 ; 14 : 21 ; 31 : 18 ; 34 : 24 ; 38 : 12 ; 39 : 7.

COLUMN III

π′ Σεύθου [
ὁ(μοίως) Σξε[...].ωτ( ) π′ Ἀρχ(ῆ)τ(ος) [
Σωτηρ[ίχῳ] ς ω [
Νεστοποικείτ(ῃ) ς ξ
5 Διδ[ύμ]ῳ Γεμέλλῳ τρισχίλ[ι]αι ς Σ
ὁ(μοίως) ς η
π′ ἱερᾶς ς Σ
φύλακι [ἐ]μοῦ ς κδ
π′ π[.]νεμη ς ιζ
10 π′ Ἀρχ(ῆτος) οἴνου α ς ιζ
Θαισαρίῳ συμβολ(ῆς) ς δ
ὀρόβου κελαλα ς κ

		δαπάνης	ς δ
		κολλιων	ς κδ
15		Ηλι	ς ιϛ
	a	π[΄] Διοσκ(όρου) ς Σιδ	
		L Ἀτρῆ καμηλ(είτη)	ς κ[.
		κ(α)ὶ Ἀμακλις διὰ Ἀτ(ρῆ)	ς η
		π΄ Ἀτ]ρῆ ς ρ	
20		. . . .] ς η ὀφιλ(ῆς)	
		L [Γ]εμέλλῳ	ς ροβ
		ἰδρώων ϛ	ς δ[.
		χόρτου	ς β (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
		κρέως	ς ε (πεντώβολον)
25		συμβ[ολ]ῆς	ς δ (τριώβολον)
		υἱῷ κωφῆς	ς κ
		δαπ[ά]ν[η]ς	ς δ
	γ	Ἱέρακι διὰ γαμβροῦ	ς ξ
		. . ἀπόκειται	
30		ς ρκβ (ὀβολοὶ δύο)	

3 Σωτηρ[ίχῳ] and 5 Γεμέλλῳ, etc., were added later in a blacker ink which reappears in 12 *sqq.*

4 Νεστοποικείτη, *cf. Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, I, 1, p. 177, on Ἑρμῆς Νεστοποικίτης; *Gr. Urk.*, 811 : 7; Kenyon, *Gr. Pap.*, II, p. 151; *Gr. Urk.*, 455 : 14, Νέστου ἐποίκιον. The noun means a resident of that place. *Cf. infr.*, Col. 37 : 22.

7 ἱερᾶς (γῆς) is obviously suggested, but how such land should be a source of revenue to the writer is not clear; *vid. infr.*, Cols. 7 : 8; 8 : 16; 16 : 8, 10, 12, 14; 20 : 24; 23 : 1; 28 : 7; 33 : 3.

12 Possibly a wrong transcription of καὶ λαχά(νων)

22 Possibly ς Σ[

25 This suggests the tax on receipts usually read συμβολικῶν, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 161, but the sums paid seem larger than was usual, and the item should accompany larger tax payments. *Vid. infr.*, συμβολῆς, Cols. 9 : 14; 22 : 15, 21; 24 : 5; 32 : 14; 37 : 13; 39 : 9; 41 : 22; συμβολ(ῆς) or (ικῶν), Cols. 7 : 26; 9 : 3, 15; 10 : 15; 20 : 30; 29 : 17; 35 : 13; 44 : 17. *Cf.* also Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, p. 85, συνβολῆς. On the whole, συμβολῆς is more naturally taken in the sense of "contribution" or "subscription," though in that sense it is generally plural, συμβολαί, and, except for the case in *Greek Papyri* above cited, does not appear in the papyri. The amount of it in these accounts is almost invariably four drachmae.

28 Here as in l. 16 the day of the month is meant.

COLUMN IV

π′ Ἀτρῆ ς ρλβ
L ὀψαρίων ς η
Ὡρίωνι ἰς ἐ[ργ(άτας)] δι[ὰ] κόπον ς μ
π′ Σώτα ς ϛ
5 ἐν πιττακίῳ Σωτη- α′ Σωτηρί[χ(ῳ)] ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Ἀθὺρ πλινθευτ(αῖς) ς τ
ρίχῳ ἐτάγη καὶ ἐν χιριστικοῖς οὐχ εὑρ(ίσκεται) Γεμέλλῳ ὑ(πὲρ) οἴ[ν]ου ς ϛδ
οτε . [.]χ . . δι[ὰ] Ἡρακλείας {ς ροβ}
ιε π′ Σαραπίω(νος) λ[α]χά[νων] ς ϛβ
π′ Πασί(ωνος) ὁ(μοίως) ς μ
10 π′ Πετεκᾶ ς λϛ
L Σανένι διὰ Ἐριέως ς κ
Πτολεμ[αί]ῳ ς τ
γυ]ναικ(ὶ) Ἀρείου π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς φ
π′ Πουκελλ . . δ ς λβ
15 Στέψι ὑ(πὲρ) ἱματι[σ]μ[ο]ῦ ς . [.
μοσχείων ς ε .
δαπάνης ς δ
ἐπὶ [τ(ῆ)] β π′ Σώτα ς ρκ
ἐπὶ τ(ῆ) δ [π]′ Σώτα ς . κβ [χ]α(λκοῦς) α′ [Σωτη]ρίχ(ῳ)
ς υξβ χα(λκοῦς)
20 ἀπ[όκειται
]φμϛ χ(αλκοῦς)
π′ Βακχ(ιώτου) ὑ(πὲρ) φ[ό]ρου [. .] δι[ὰ . .] .
ς ξ
π[′ . . .]κλιο[. . . .]κ[.]αι . [.] .
25] ς π
. . . . . .]κ[. .]ου ς [.]β
π′] τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] χρ[ή]σε(ως) ς [.]
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) διὰ Ἡρᾶ(τος) ς φιη
. . . [. . . . . .]κρης [[ς η]] ς η .
(Traces of three lines.)

7 Possibly [ἔσ]χεν

10 *Cf.* Πετεκᾶτος (gen.), *Gr. Urk.*, 146 : 2, and Πετεκᾶ (gen.), *Gr. Urk.*, 515 : 2, the latter a Fayûm papyrus of A. D. 193 about Petekas's affairs in Karanis, so that it is not impossible that the same man is meant.

11 Or Σανσνῖ. Σανσνεύς occurs in *Gr. Urk.*, 6 : 9 ; *vid. infr.* Cols. 10 : 20 ; 43 : 8.
14 Perhaps *υἱοῦ* Κελλ[. .] . .
24 Perhaps Ἀμα]κλιο[ς
25 ς π (perhaps τι) may belong to the item in 24.

COLUMN V

ις π′ Ἀτρῆ ς χ
π′ μισθωτ(οῦ) ἀπάτ(ωρος) ὑ(πὲρ) λα (ἔτους) αἱ λοιπαί
ς ριβ
π′ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑ(πὲρ) λβ (ἔτους) ἐπὶ λό[[λ]]γου
5 ς ρος
π′ βαλανέως στρατ(ηγοῦ)
ς ρπ
π′ Σαραπίωνος ἐλαιουφ( ) ς ρ
π′ Σώτα ς τκ
10 π′ Κόνχου ς τιβ
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς κη
κο[λ]ούβου ς δ
πτικο[. . ὀ]ψω(νίου) ς η
χόρ[του] χλωρ(οῦ) ς η
15 Μώρῳ ὀψωνίου ς [.]β
π′ Ὀρσενού(φεως) ἐλαιουρ(γοῦ) ς κδ
π]′ Ἀρητί(χου) ς μδ
L νομικῷ ς δ
οἴνου ς ιβ
20 περιστεριδίων ς δ
[[χ]]δαπάνης ς ις
Γεμ]έλλ(ῳ) ὥστε Σαβείνῳ ἀρχιερῖ
.[. . .] ὥστ[ε τ]ραπιζί(τῃ) ἐν τῇ [ο]ἰκίᾳ
παρ[ό]ντο[ς Φιλ]οξένου εν[.]ιλω .
25 ματι ἀ[νθ′]ὧν ἔδωκ(ε) χρ(ήσεως) ς F
π′ Γαίου ς [.]
π′ Νήσου ς Σ

The amounts of three further lines of expenditures are preserved:

] ς ρ] ς δ] ς ιβ

2 λα (ἔτους) can only refer to the thirty-first year of the combined reigns of Aurelius and Commodus, dates in the latter's reign being usually reckoned in this way.

4 γ of λόγου is written over λ.

6 βαλανέυς can only mean bathman, but what he paid the estate 180 drachmae for can only be conjectured; perhaps the πιττάκια showed whether it was for rent, woven stuffs, or produce.

8 *l.* ἐλαιουρ(γοῦ)

12 *l.* κολλύβου "for exchange"? *Cf. Fayûm Towns*, pp. 161, 186, where the word is used of a small charge made for making change.

20 *Cf.* ὅπως εἰς τὴν ἑωρτὴν περιστερείδια ἡμεῖν ἀγοράσῃ, *Gr. Urk.*, 596:6–8, A. D. 84. *Vid. infr.*, Cols. 33:8; 42:22; 45:4.

COLUMN VI

	ιθ̅	ἀπό[κ]ειται	
		ς φνς	
		L ποιμένι ὑ(πὲρ) ὀψωνίου	ς Σ
		Ὡρίωνι ἰς ἔργα διὰ κόπου	ς μ
5		Ἄμμωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) προβατ(ικῶν)	ς μ
		πράκτορσι Βακχιάδος	ς κ
		πράκτορσι Ἡφαιστιάδ(ος)	ς κ
		Πτολεμαίῳ ταυρελ(άτῃ) ὀψω(νίου)	ς ιβ
		Ἀρποχρᾷ ὁμοίως	ς ιβ
10		τέ[κ]τονι Βακχιώτῃ	ς δ
		τειμῆ[ς κ]ρόκη[ς]	ς λς (τετρώβολον)
		ὀψαρίων	ς δ
		Κοπρῇ τέκτονι	ς ιε (τριώβολον)
		ὀψαρίω[ν] Γεμέλλ(ῳ)	ς δ
15	κα	π′ Ἀτρῆ ς ⊢ξ	
		π′ Σ[ώ]τα ς ρ	
		π′ Κόνχ(ου) [ς]ρξ	
		L Νεᾷ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργατῶν	ς δ.
		ἐμοὶ ἐλίου	ς δ
20		π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ς Σ	
		π′ Χράτου ς πη	
		L ἐλαίου ῥαφανί[νο]υ	ς [.]δ
		π′ Ἀρχῆτος ς [[ος]]π	
		π]′ Πασεινικ(οῦ) ἀπόκ(ειται) ς ‘β	

25 Σαβείνῳ δη[μοσίῳ τ]ρ̣α̣πεζ(ίτῃ) ς ϝα (πεντώβολον)
Διοσκ[όρῳ . .]α . [. . . . .] καὶ αν[ ]
(Parts of three further lines.)

6, 7 *Cf. Fayûm Towns*, pp. 107, 257, where Bacchias and Hephaestias are shown to be separate though adjacent villages. *Vid. infr.*, Cols. 22:29; 39:21. Drs. Grenfell and Hunt suggest that these payments to the πράκτορες were for λαογραφία.

9 *Cf.* Ἀρποχρᾷ ἱερεῖ, Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, I, 182, and *infr.*, Cols. 9:1; 11:23; 33:23; 34:22.

11 κρόκη, the "thread of the woof;" *cf.* στήμων, the "thread of the warp," Cols. 7:22; 46:16. Evidently a certain amount of weaving was to be provided for, and this may have been part of the business of the estate.

21 *Cf.* Χράτου, *Gr. Urk.*, 196:11.

22 On raphanous oil, said by Pliny to have been much used in Egypt, *cf. Amh. Pap.*, II, p. 117; *Fayûm Towns*, pp. 234, 236, and *infr.*, Cols. 12:18; 13:14; 43:10.

COLUMN VII

π′ Κόν[χ(ου)] ς [. .]
ᾳ′ Πέννι [.
Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) μ[ικ(ρῷ)] ς [.
κβ π′ γεωργ(οῦ) Φιλαντι( ) ς η
5 Ηλι ὑ(πὲρ) βοῶν ς [.
Δημητ(ρίῳ) χρή⟨σ⟩εως ς [.
π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς λς
π]′ ἱερᾶς ς Σ
κδ′ ∟ Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κό(που) ς μ
10 π′ Σώτας ς οβ
ᾳ′ Ὡρίωνι ς οβ
π′ Διοσκόρου ς ξ
ᾳ′ Ὡρίωνι ς ξ
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς κδ
15 π′ Κόνχ(ου) ς ρ ποι[μέ]νι ς ρ
ᾳ′ Ὡρί[ων]ι ς [ ]δ ἄλ(λαι) [ς] Σ
Κολόβῳ ὑ(πὲρ) δορ . ( ) ἀρρένων
δ̄ θηλιῶν δ̄ ἐπὶ λ(όγου) ς ρ
Σ]αραπίωνι πλενωλ( ) [ς] ξ
20 Πέννι ὀψωνίο(υ) ς [.] χα(λκοῦς)

			αττ]ακητων	ς κδ
			σ]τήμονος	ς δ
	κς	π' Ἀρχ(ῆ)τ(ος)	ς ιβ	
			ᾳ' Πέννι ὀψω(νίου)	ς ιβ
25	κζ	π' Ἀρχ(ῆτος)	ς νς	
			L *συμβολ(ῆς)* [. .] ὑ(πὲρ) *κεραμ(έως)*	ς ς χα(λκοῦς)
			καινῷ καμηλ(είτῃ)	ς ιβ
			μικρῷ Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ)	ς ιβ
			Π]*ασί(ωνι) ἱππῖ ὀψω(νίου)*	ς ις
30			[. . . . . .]	ς [.] .
			Θαι]*σαρίῳ σπεκουλ(άτορι)*	ς δ

(Traces of three lines.)

15 Is in a blacker ink, and was evidently written in later.
21 *Cf. αττακητων*, Cols. 8 : 22 ; 12 : 17.
22 *Vid. supr.*, Col. 6 : 11, and note.
26 Perhaps *κεραμ(ίων)*

COLUMN VIII

	π' Σώτα	ς ρκη	
		ᾳ' ᾳ Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κ[ό(που)]	ς ρ[. .
	π' Γαίου	ς τ	
		L Κολοβῷ	ς νς
5		Σωτηρίχῳ	ς Σ
		πλινθευτῇ ἐμοῦ	ς η
	π' Διοσκόρου	ς μ	
		ᾳ' Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) καμηλ(είτῃ) μικ(ρῷ)	ς [[κδ]] ις
		Ἡρᾷ καμαλ(είτῃ)	ς [κ]δ
10	π' Ποσηλότου ἵππου	ς ρ .	
		ᾳ' υἱῷ Σεμπρω[(νίου) ὑ](πὲρ) ἐλαι[ουρ]γ(ῶν)	ς ρ[ ]
	π' Ἡρακλιά(δος)	ς ρ	
		ᾳ' υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) ὁ(μοίως)	ς ρ
	π' ἐμοῦ	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) $\overline{\theta}$	
15		ᾳ' Γεμέλλ(ῳ) υἱῷ Σεμπ[ρω(νίου)]	(πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) θ
	π' ἱερᾶς	ς Σ	
		Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κόπο[υ]	ς Σ
		Ταπήσι	ς η
		ἰχ[θυ]δίων	ς ιβ

20 Ἑρμῆτι ἡμῶν ς ιβ
Ηλι ς δ
ατ[τα]κητων ς ις
π′ Βα[....]κ( ) [..]
π′ μισθ[ωτ(οῦ) ..]ης ς ροβ
25 β[.....]...αν ς κ
α[ ]ς δ
π′ Διο[σκ(όρου)
π′ Ατ]ρῆ ς[..

12 Perhaps Ἡρακλιε( )
18 *Cf.* Ταπῆσις, a woman's name, *Gr. Urk.* 577: 13, a Fayûm papyrus of A. D. 201.
22 *Cf. supr.*, Col. 7: 21.

COLUMN IX

Ἀρπο]χρᾷ βουκόλ(ῳ) ς ιβ
..] ν[α]ύλ(ου) } ς ις
..]ιω συμβολ(ῆς) Πτολ( ). αρ( ) ς δ
π′ Περ]κεήσε(ως) ς Σ
5 ἔτι ἄνωθεν
α′ Ἱέρακι διὰ αὐτοῦ ς Σ
π[′] Περκεήσεω(ς) ς ρ
L Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κό(που) ς μ
π′ Θέωνος ς ψ[ν] χα(λκοῦς)
10 α′ Θέωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) Πτολ(εμαίου) ἀπὸ Θώθ ς ψν χα(λκοῦς)
π′ Γαίου ς ρ
Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κόπου ς ξ
Π[τ]ολεμα[ί]ῳ [τ]αυρελάτῃ ς ις
συμβολῆς ὑ(πὲρ) Γεμέλλ(ου) ἀνθρώ(που) ς δ
15 συμβολ(ῆς) [ἐ]μοί ς δ
π[′] Κόνχ(ου) ς ξ
α′ Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κ(όπου) ς ξ
Πτολεμαί(ῳ) ὀνηλάτ(ῃ) διὰ
τῆς μητ[ρός] ς η
20 Κιαλβ[α]σι[η] χρήσε(ως) [ς]μ
Ἄπι ὥστε Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) [ς.]η ἄλ(λαι) ς η
τιμῆς λοιπῆς ὄνου ς ξ
Παμοῦν[ι οἰ]κοδόμῳ ς ις

π′ Ἀτρῆ ς μ
25 α′ Ὠρ[ίωνι ὑ(πὲρ)] ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κό(που) ς μ
π′ γε[[. .]]ωργ(οῦ) Σατορν[ίλου
L τροφ[ῆς . . . . . .] . λ( ) ς μη

20 *Cf.* Κιαλβασιη *infra*, Col. 22:27.
21 *Cf.* Ἄπει, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, II, p. 188, l. 3.
23 *Cf.* Παμοῦνις, *Amh. Pap.*, II, 128:101.

COLUMN X

. . . .] ἐπὶ λ(όγου) ς ζ (τριώβολον)
π[′. . . .]
Θοτ]εῦτι δι' ἃ κατὰ μέρ(ος) νι( )
. . . .] .[.] . ησευ Γέμελλ(ος) ς Σ
5 π[′. . . . ς .]β ἄλ(λαι) ς η
L [α]ὐτῷ ὑ(πὲρ) μαλαγμάτ(ων) ζεύγ(ους) ς λδ (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
α[′]Ἀτρῇ ὑ(πὲρ) ὀψωνίου ς η
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς . . β
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς τε
10 ἐ[π]ὶ τ(οῦ) Τῦβ[ι] Θοτεῦτι ς τ
}. ἄλλαι τῷ αὐτῷ } [. .]β }
}ἄλλ[α]ς τῷ αὐτῷ } ς 2 ρ[.] }
}π′ Ἑρμείνου ς Σ}
Ἀφροδ[ι]σί[ῳ] τέκτονι ς κ
15 .] συμβολῆς ς η
Ἀ]μάκι [π]λινθευτῇ ς κ
Θαϊσαρίῳ ς δ
Ἱέρ]ακι διὰ τοῦ [γαμβ]ροῦ ς ρ
π′] Σώτα ς Σ
20 α′ Σανένι διὰ Ἱεριέως ς [.]
ποιμέ[νι] Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) ς ο
Νεστοπόι[κείτ(ῃ) ἐ]πὶ Χοίακ ς κβ
ἀκανθεας [. . . . . .] ς λβ
Ηλι ὥστε β[. . . . . .] ς [. .]
25 [[. .]] τιμῆς Ἑρμ[. . . . . .] . . . . . [
ανου . . αν[. . . . . Μεμ-
φίτην αν[
φακῆς (ἀρταβῶν) β [

6 *Cf.* *μάλαγμα*, Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, p. 85.
10 *ἐπὶ τ(οῦ)* Τῦβι is in a finer writing.
11, 12 The large braces in the papyrus probably mean that the items inclosed are canceled. *Cf.* Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, I, p. 143, note.
20 Perhaps Σανσνῖ; *cf. supr.* on Col. 4:11.
22 *Cf.* Col. 3:4 and note.

COLUMN XI

. . . .] ς τ
]ἀπόκ(ειται) [.] τιγ̄
. . . .] [ς] Σ̣
Ὡ]ρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐ[ρ]γ(ατῶν) [διὰ] κ̣(όπου) ς Σ
5 [. . . . .]ρ̣[.]
. . . .] . ς διὰ [Π]ακ[ύσ]ε̣(ως) ς η
. . .] . νι λείνου χ[ρήσ]ε(ως) ς ρ
πλινθευτῇ ξένῳ ς η
θ̣ίου ς η
10 π′ Σώτα ς π
π′ Διοσκόρου [ς] ξ
Νεστοποικείτ(ῃ) [[[. .]]]η
ε π′ Σώ[τ]α ς νβ[ ]
L Ε[ὐ]φροσύνῳ ὑ(πὲρ) . . . εμ( ) ς νβ–
15 Ὡρί[ωνι] ς μη̄
{π′ Κ[ό]νχ(ου) ς μ[.]
ᾳ′ Π[ακ]υσιαίπῳ ς μη}
ἀνελήμ(φθη) ἐπὶ τοῦ Χοίακ {π′ Κόνχ(ου) ς μ
ᾳ′ Ὡρίωνι διὰ. . [. .]θο( ) ς μ}
20 π′ Κό]νχ(ου) ς μ
ᾳ′ Σωτηρ[ίχῳ] [. .]–
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς μ
[[.]] L Ἀρποχρᾷ ς ιβ–
Ἰεντιε[υ] ς η–
25 τελώ[νη . .]δυ[.]ι ς μ–
π′ Γαίου ς ξ (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
ᾳ′ Σω[τηρίχῳ . . . .] . διὰ κ̣(όπου) [ς .]
π]′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς ι[.

16 On the braces in the papyrus *cf. supr.* on Col. 10:11, 12.
17 Possibly -λινω.
18 The braces in 18 and 19 seem to have been partially erased.
24 *Cf.* Ιευτιευ ταυρελάτη, Col. 39:13. *Cf.* Ιενθιευς, Kenyon, *Gr. Pap.*, II, p. 35.

COLUMN XII

(Fragments of nine lines, six of them of expenditures.)

10 Ι[σ]ιδώρῳ χρ[ήσε]ως ς ι (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
Ἰ[έ]ρακι διὰ τοῦ γαμβροῦ ς ρ
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς πη
κρέως ς θ (πεντώβολον)
κερμίων ς δ
15 Ἀμάκι πλινθευτ(ῆ) ς ι[.
Ζωί]λῳ ξένῳ ς .[
ἀ]ττ[[η]]ακ[η]των ς κ
ἐλέου ῥαφανίνου ς ε (ὀβολός)
ιγ π′ Ἀρχ[ῆ]τ(ος)
ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆ)ς ὀρόβου[..]
20 Ὠ]ρίωνι [[ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κόπ(ου)]] ς ρ
π[′]Ἀρχῆ[τ(ος)]
α′ Ἀ]τρῆ δούλ(ῳ) κα[μ]ηλ(είτη) ς ξ
π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς κ
α′ Ἀρχηπτ[...] ς κ
25 π′ Ἀρχ]ῆτ(ος) ς Σ
α′ Θερμουθίῳ [.] . [ς]ν
ἔσχον ἐν χρήσι ϛφ ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) ς Σ
π′ Κόνχ(ου) [..]
[[ζ π′ κ . . . [.. ..]]]
30 Ὠρίω[νι . . . . . .]οπταις ς ρ
ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ[ῆς . . . . . .] ς νϛ

14 Probably for κεραμίων; *cf. infr.*, Col. 14:16.
17 *Vid. supr.*, Cols. 7.21; 8:22; the second *α* is a correction from *η*.
20 Above the erasure is the corrected reading. 24 Perhaps αρχηστ[

COLUMN XIII

(Portions of nine lines, chiefly of expenditures.)

10 π′ Θαι[σαρίου]
π′ Ἀρχῆ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) α γ[′] ς κδ

ϛ' ἄλλας (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) β' ϛ ιβ
ὁ(μοίως) ἀδ[ε]λφο (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) β' ϛ ιβ
ἐλαίου ῥαφανί(νου) ϛ ε (ὀβολός)
ιθ π' μισθωτ(οῦ) περιστ(ερώνων) Μελκαλις ἀνθουμεν[. .]
Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) α . [. . .] . ακ( )το αἱρουντ( )[[.]][
τετράμη(νον) ϛ ρ
τελώνη ϛ λβ
τελών[η] ϛ ξη [[ϛ μ]]
π' Σωτη[ρ(ι)]χ(ου) ϛ μ ϛ' υἱῷ [. . . . . .] ϛ μ
π' Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ ξ
π' Ἁτρῆ ϛ ρ
π' Ἀρχῆ ϛ κ
∟ Θοτε[ῦτι] δ[ι]ὰ Νειτείρου [ ]⁻
Κοπρῇ ὑ(πὲρ) κοπῆς ἀνθρ[. . .] . [
(Traces of two lines of expenditures.)
πλινθευτῇ ἐμοῦ ϛ η
κρέως ϛ ε (τετρώβολον)
δαπάνης ϛ δ

11 $1\frac{1}{3}$ artabae
12, 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ artaba.—*l.* ἀδελφῷ
15–17 form a single item. The περιστεριδίων of Cols. 5:20; 45:4; 46:9 suggests that form here, but περιστ(ερώνων), "dovecotes," seems the only intelligible reading with μισθωτ(οῦ) or μισθωτ(ῶν). *Cf.* Grenfell, *Greek Papyri*, I, 21:11; Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.*, I, p. 279.

COLUMN XIV

(Parts of seven lines, chiefly of receipts in the following amounts:]ϛ λβ]ϛ μη]ϛ πδ]ϛ ξ]] .]δ)

π' Θερμ[ουθ(ίου)] ϛ υ
ϛ' Ὡρί[ω]νι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) ϛ Σ
π' Γαίου ϛ ξ
π' Γαίου ϛ π
π' Γαίου ϛ ρ
ϛ' Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ἐ[χ]ώρησαν ϛ Σμ
κ π' Νήσου ϛ υ
∟ ποιμένι ϛ [.
Σωτηρί[χ(ῳ)] κερ(α)μ(ίων) διὰ . . ν( ) ω( ). . ( ) ϛ μδ
Ἀγριππι(ανῷ) τιμῆς λαχά(νων) ϛ ρ

τέκτονι Βακ[χ]ι[ώτῃ] ϛ κ
ὀψαρίων [ϛ] η
20 ἅλα [. .]
Πακύσι ν[α]ύλ(ου) κ[α]μ[ήλων)] [. .]
τιμὴν κούφων ἐλαίο(υ) ϛ ξ
Πρώτᾳ ϛ [.] .
π′ Σώτα [. .]
25 π′ Ἀτρῆ ϛ [.]
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ ξ

20 Apparently an item of "salt." The genitive would be the natural case, but *cf.* τιμήν, l. 22.
22 κοῦφα, in the sense of "vessels to contain wine," occurs in Kenyon, *Gr. Papyri*, II, p. 332 (sixth or seventh century), and in *Fayûm Towns*, 133:6 (fourth century). "Oil vessels" may be meant.

COLUMN XV

(Portions of five lines of expenditures in the following amounts:]ϛ κ[ ]ϛ ξ[ ]ϛ κδ]ϛ η)

. . . .]οδόσεως ϛ κ
. . .]νι κλη(ρού)χ(ῳ) [ϛ] κη
. . . .]ϛ λβ
π[′. . . . ϛ ρ]κ ϛ′ Σω[τ(ηρίχῳ)] ϛ ρκ
10 π′ Ἀτρ[ῆ ϛ Σ]μ ϛ′ [Σω]τ(ηρίχῳ) ϛ Σμ
π′ Ἀτρῆ κβ ϛ ρξ ϛ′ Σωτ(ηρίχῳ) ϛ ρξ
π′ Ἀτρῆ κγ ϛ μ ϛ′ Κοπρῇ ϛ μ
π′ Ἀτρῆ κε ϛ μη ϛ′ Ὠρίω(νι) ϛ μη
π′[Ἀ]τρῆ ἐκ τῶν ἀναλω(θέντων)
15 κεραμ(ίων) β ϛ λβ
ϛ′ Γεμέλλ(ῳ) υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) ὑ(πὲρ) ἐλαίου [
π′] Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ [.] ϛ′ υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) [
Ἑρμῆτι δού[λ(ῳ)] ϛ η
αλαες ϛ δ
20 π Διοσκόρου ϛ [υκ]η
ϛ[′. .]ρα . ( ) αν [. . . . . .]τ( ) ϛ υκη
π′ Κόνχου [ϛ] ρ
ϛ′ Παίωνι διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ με . . . . ϛ ρ
π′ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβης) α ϛ κ τῶ αὐτῷ διὰ τ(οῦ) Π[αί]ω(νος) [ϛ] κ
25 [[π′ .]] Ὠρί[ωνι] ὑ(πὲρ) [ἐρ]γ(ατῶν) [διὰ] κόπου ϛ [. .]

8 Perhaps a line is lost between 7 and 8.

11–13 The numerals κβ, κγ, κε refer to the day of the month.

19 Perhaps copyist's error for ελεας; *cf. infr.*, Cols. 22:4; 29:14; 33:7.

23 Perhaps μετόχο̣υ̣

COLUMN XVI

	ϛ' Σω]τηρίχ(ῳ)		[. .
	. . . .]¯ ἕως κ̅β̅		ϛ χ
κ[.		ϛ] ρ	
	Ḷ τελώνῃ		ϛ πδ
	ποιμένι		ϛ ιϛ
κθ[		ϛ] Σ̣	
ἀνελ(ήμφθη) Χοί[ακ	Χαι]ρήμο̣νι ὑ(πὲρ) κριθῆς		ϛ Σ
π' ἱερᾶς		ϛ ριβ	
	ταυρελάταις		ϛ ριβ
π' ἱερᾶς		ϛ ρ–	
	ϛ' Ἱέρακι		ϛ̣ ρ
π' ἱερᾶς		ϛ π	
	ϛ' ὑ(πὲρ) φακοῦ		ϛ π
π' ἱερᾶς		ϛ Σ	
	ϛ' [[Ἱέ[ρ]ακι̣]] Ὡρ[ί]ωνι		ϛ Σ
π' Ὡρίωνος [. .]ἄλ̣(λαι) [. . . .]			
	ϛ ρ̣[.]η ἄλ(λαι)	ϛ τξη[. .]	
	L Ὡρίωνι [ὑ](πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) Χοίακ Ταγνοω		ϛ ρη
	καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) μεταφορᾶς οἴνου		ϛ ιγ (πεντώβολον)
	καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) διὰ κόπ[ου] [[ϛ ρ]]		ϛ ριβ χα(λκοῦς)
	. . . τι]μῆς ὀρό[βο]υ (ἀρταβῶν) η		ϛ ρμδ
π' Ὡρίωνος		ϛ ιγ (πεντώβολον ?)	
λ'	δι̣[. . . .]τρι δούλ(ῳ) ὑ(πὲρ) ὀψωνίου		ϛ ιγ(πεντώβολον)

1 Two or three lines gone from the top of the column.

6 With κθ a finer pen begins.

15 By an error of the eye, the transcriber wrote Ἱέρακι of l. 11 again, and then crossed it out.

COLUMN XVII

	] ϛ μη	
] Γαίῳ		[
	] ϛ ν̣	
] Σαραπίων[ι		
		] . (πεντώβολον)
] Ἀ̣τρῇ κατὰ μῆν(α)		[

π´] Σ̣ώ̣τα	ϛ{2μ}ϙκ	
ϛ´ Ὡρίωνι		ϛ{2[μ}ϛϙκ
π´ Κόνχ(ου)	⟦π⟧ ϛ μ	
ϛ´ Ὡρίωνι		ϛ ⟦π⟧μ[
π]´ [Ἁτ]ρ̣ῆ	ϛ ρ	
ϛ´ ποιμένι		ϛ ρ
π´ Κόνχ(ου)	ϛ μ	
ϛ´ ⟦Ὡρίωνι⟧ Κοπρῇ		ϛ μ
π´ Διοσκ(όρου) κεραμ(ίου)	ϛ ιϛ	
ϛ´ Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) μικ(ρῷ)		ϛ ιϛ
π´ Σώτα	ϛ ρπ	
ϛ´ Ὡρίω(νι)		ϛ ρκ
Σωτη̣ρ̣ίχ(ῳ)		ϛ ξ
π´ Κόνχ(ου)	ϛ π̣	
ϛ´ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ)		ϛ π
π´ Διοσκ(όρου)	ϛ ξ̣	
ϛ´ Σ̣[ωτηρ]ίχ(ῳ)		ϛ ξ
π´ Γαίου	ϛ Σοϛ	
ϛ´ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ)		ϛ Σοϛ
π´ Γαίου	ϛ ρ	
π´ Ἀρχῆτ(ος)	ϛ κ̣	
]θι[.]¯ . . ὑ(πὲρ) Γεμέλλ(ου)		ϛ ο̣
] ὑ(πὲρ) ἐμοῦ		ϛ δ
] . ρ . . . ακω		ϛ δ̣–
Ḷ Π̣ασινικῷ		ϛ . .

15–25 are with a finer pen and paler ink, but probably by the same hand.

COLUMN XVIII

. . .] . ω . [.] . εμε[	
. . .]πλινθευ[τῇ . . .	
. . .]φου̣με . [	
δαπάνης	ϛ [.
κρέως	ϛ δ[
ὀρνέων	ϛ κ[
Ἁτρῇ νύμφῃ	ϛ η
π´ τειμ(ῆς) κεραμ(ίου)	ϛ ιϛ

1 Perhaps Γεμέ[λλου
2 A line may be lost after 2.
3 A line may be lost after 3.

COLUMN XIX

Μεχεὶρ ι
π′ τιμῆς κεραμ(ίων) λη ς φμβ χα(λκοῦς)
α′ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ς φμβ χα(λκοῦς)
π[′ . .]ου [ς] Σκ ἄλ(λαι) ς Σκ ἄλ(λαι) ςτ ἄλ(λαι) ς ρμ’
]ςωπ α′ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ς ωπ
π′ Γεμ[έ]λλας ς ρ διὰ Εὐφροσύνου
Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ς ρ

1 Col. 19 stands partly under Col. 18, but after an interval of cm. 5.5.

COLUMN XX

(Traces of five lines, the second beginning Μεχ[είρ, and]πλόκ(οις) in the margin of the fourth.)

. . . . .] ἐπὶ το[.] . [ ] . [[.]] (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
π′ Κόνχ(ου) ς ξ[
L ταυρ[ελάταις] ς νβ
Ἀρπα[λεί(ωνι)] ς μη
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς λς
α′ Ἀρπαλ[εί(ωνι)] ς λς
χορτοκ[όποι]ς ς κδ
πλινθευ[τῇ ἐμοῦ]–
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς π
L Δημητρίῳ ἐν χρήσι κεραμ(ίων) ς ις
Στεσούχῳ ὀψωνίου ς ις
υἱῷ Σεμπρωνίου ς κ
φα[κοῦ] ς ιβ
Νε[ᾷ ἐν] χρήσι ς ιβ
π′ οἴνου Ἀτρ[ῆ]ς [ς]ς ἄλ(λαι) ς β χα(λκοῦς)
πλινθευτῇ ἐμοῦ ς η
π′ ἐμοῦ (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) β ς
ἅπερ ἔσχεν Αμακις ὑ(πὲρ) Γεμέλλ(ου) ς λς
π′ ἰε[ρ]ᾶς ς Σ
π]′ Ἀ[τρ]ῆ ς Σ
π′ Κόνχ(ου) ς Σμ

π΄ Σκανβυ ς φ
π΄ Σ[ώτ]α ς λβ
L τέκτονι Βακχ(ιώτῃ) ς ξ
30 συμβολ(ῆς) ς δ
[[Θερμουθίῳ ς δ]]

13 Perhaps ξένῳ should be supplied instead of ἐμοῦ; *cf.* Col. 11 : 8.
18 *Cf.* Col. 10 : 28, and Col. 16 : 13.
22 There is no trace of a numeral after ς. *Cf.* Col. 21 : 28.

COLUMN XXI

. . . . .] Γεμέλ(λῳ) ς ιβ
. . . .] ς δ
. . . .] ς δ
. . . . .] . [. .] ὑ(πὲρ) ἐμοῦ ς η
5 Θέω[νι . . . .] χρήσ[ε]ως ς η
Σωτηρ[ίχ(ῳ) . . . . .]λ( ) ἀποδημ( ) ς χ
κρέως ς ε (πεντώβολον)
δαπάν[ης] ς ε (πεντώβολον)
Ἵππι δι[ὰ κόπου] ς ξ
10 π΄ μισθωτ(οῦ) περισ[τ(ερώνων)
ς ξ[
π΄ Θέωνος φρον[τ(ιστοῦ) ς ρ
π΄ Βακχ(ιώτου) μισθωτ(οῦ) περι(στερώνων) ς π
L Γεμέλλ(ῳ) υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) ς ρ
15 Ἵππι διὰ κόπου ς μ
Δι[δύ]μῳ τραπεζίτ(ῃ) ἀνθ' ὧν ἔχω
. [. . .]βιβυτος ς υ
πράκτορσι κατοίκ(ων) Καρανίδ(ος) ς μ
σιτολόγ(οις) ὁ(μοίως) [ς] ιβ
20 μύρων ς [ ]–
τελώνῃ ὑ(πὲρ) Κοπρῆ καὶ ἀπὸ μύ(ρων) τιμ(ῆς) [ς] η
π΄ Ἰσιδώρου ς κ
δαπάνης ς κ
π΄ μισθωτ(ῶν) ἀπὸ τῆς Πτολ(εμαΐδος)
25 Νεᾶς ς ξ
L Εὐτυχῇ ς κ

π᾽ ἀπὸ τειμῆς δηναρίου
ς
Γεμέλλ(ῳ) υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) ς ρ[.]β
π᾽ Ἀτρῆ ς[
.]. ποιμένι ς ρδ[

4 υ is written over a superfluous ς.
6 Perhaps]χ( )
18 It is to be noted here that the tax ὑπὲρ κατοίκων, the land tax upon κάτοικοι, is paid in money, as in *Fayûm Towns*, No. 56, not, as was usually the case, in kind. The land tax was paid in money on vineyards or gardens. *Cf.* Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.*, I, pp. 199, 379.
24 Possibly απατης

COLUMN XXII

] ς νβ
ϙ]΄ Αμακι [
π᾽ Ἀρχ[ῆτ(ος)] ς η
ϙ]΄ αλ[α]ες [
5 π᾽ Ἀρ[χῆτ(ος)] ς ιβ
ϙ[΄ τι]μῆ[ς] ὕλης ς κδ
[[Χα[ιρήμο]νι ὑ(πὲρ) ὕδατ[ο]ς ς κδ]]
π᾽ Ἀρ[χῆτ(ος)] ς ρ
ϙ΄ Σ]ω[τ]ηρίχῳ ς ρ
10 π᾽ Ἀρχ[ῆτ(ος)]]ϙ
τιμ]ῆ[ς] ἄκμονος ς δ
κω[.]ρ[. . . . .] ς κ
σαργανείλ[ω]ν ς δ
π᾽ οἴνου κεραμ(ίων) β
15 _____ συμβολῆς ς δ
κε ἀπόκειται ς μη
π᾽ Κόνχ(ου) ς ιβ
τιμῆς ἄκμονος ς ξ
π᾽ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς κδ
20 π᾽ οἰνοιπώλ(ων) στρατ(ηγοῦ) ς [.].
L συμβολ[ῆς]· ς δ
Αμακι ὑ(πὲρ) ὄνου ἐμοί ς η
θίου ς ιβ
Γερμανῷ ς ις

25 τροφῆς καμήλ(ων) . . [.]καυθων ὑπὸ
σίτον μετὰ Πασινικ(οῦ) ια ς ιβ
Κιαλβασιη ἐν χρήσι ς κ
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς κ
α′ πράκτορσι Βακχ(ιάδος) [

4 *Vid. supr.*, Col. 15 : 19.
13 A diminutive form of σαργάνη, "a basket," may be meant. σαργάνη occurs in British Museum (Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, II, p. 291, A. D. 346) and Berlin papyri (*Gr. Urk.*, 417 : 14, second or third century A. D.).
20 *l.* οἰνοπώλ(ων)
23 Or αἴαν ? *l.* θείου
25 "Camels . . . . carrying grain," *cf. Fayûm Towns*, Ost. 14 : 2, p. 324.
27 *Cf. supr.*, Col. 9 : 20.
29 *Cf. supr.* on Col. 6 : 6.
17–23, being done with a finer pen and very rapidly, have a different look, but are probably in the usual hand.

COLUMN XXIII

π′ ἱ[ε]ρᾶς ς Σ
L ὑ(πὲρ) (πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) [.] . . [. .] . υ
σαναγο[.]ρ[. . . .] . [. . . .]ανιλ( ) β
κατοίκ(ων) ὁ(μοίως) Καρ[ανίδ(ος) . . . .]ε ς ρπη
5 κολοβῷ ς δ
γέροντι φύλακι ἐ[μο]ῦ ς ιβ
π′ Ἀρχ(ῆτος) ς κ
δελφακ(ίου) ς κ
π′ μισθωτ(οῦ) περιστ(ερώνων) Βακχ[ιώτ(ου) ς]κ
10 L κολοβῷ ὑ(πὲρ) ἄ[[μ]]κ[μονο]ς ς ξδ
Δημητρίῳ ς κδ
{Γερμανῷ} ς ιζ
Αμακι ξένῳ ἐμοῦ [ ]
βουκόλῳ Μεμφίτ(ῃ) ς ιβ
15 π′ μισθωτ(οῦ) περιστ(ερώνων) Βακχ(ιώτου) ς μ
π′ λαχανοπώλ(ου) Πτολ(εμαίου) γέροντ(ος) ς μ
π′ Νίκωνος ὁ(μοίως) λαχανο(πώλου) ς ξ
α′ L Γεμέλλῳ ς ρκ
Κοπρῇ ς κ

20 π´ οἴν[ο]υ ς η
Ἑρμείωνι ς ι
π´ ὀψαρ[ί]ων ς ι
π´ Κόνχ(ου) ς ρ
π´ Ἀτρῆ ς ρ
25 π´ Γαίου διὰ Σευθᾶ ς [·
α´ Θοτεῦτι διὰ Νιτείρ(ου) καὶ
Φαμενώθ Ἑρμείωνος ς τ
Ὡρ[ίωνι] ς ιβ
π´ Ἀτρῆ ς [·
30 . . . .] ς μ

3 Perhaps σαργ]ανίλ(ων); *cf.* Col. 22:13.
8 *Cf.* δελφάκιον τέλειον, Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, II, p. 314 (*ca.* A. D. 350).

COLUMN XXIV

π´ Διοσ]κόρου ς λς
α´ Ἀ[ντ]ωνᾶτι ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) [. . .]. ς λς
π´] Δ[ιο]σκόρου ς οβ
α´ Πασεινικῷ ς ιβ
5 ἐμοὶ συμβολῆς ς η
Σεμπρωνίῳ ὑ(πὲρ) πυροῦ ς νβ
π´ Δ[ιοσ]κόρ[ο]υ ς ρ
α´ Ἀγριππινῷ ὑ(πὲρ) λαχά(νων) ς ρ
π[´ Διοσ]κόρου ς ιη(ὀβολοὶ δύο)
10 α´ Παμοῦνι [[οἰκο[δό]μ(ῳ)]] ς ιη (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
κδ π´ Δι[οσκόρο]υ ς νς
α[´ Σω]τηρίχ(ῳ) [ὥσ]τε Ἀντινο[. . ς ν]ς
κθ π´ Διοσκόρου ς ρκδ
α´ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ὥστε Κοπρῇ ς ρκδ
15 π´ Διοσκ(όρου) οἴνου κεραμ(ίων) δ ς ξδ
α´ Ἀντωνᾶτι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐλέας β ς λβ
Ἀγριππινῷ ὑ(πὲρ) λαχά(νων) β ς λβ
π´ Διοσκόρου οἴνου ἐμοὶ κεραμ(ίων) ι ἐκ ς ις
ς ρξ ἐμοὶ ἰς πῖν ς ρξ
20 π´ Διοσκόρου ς 2 ρ
α´ ποιμένι ς 2 ρ

π′ Κόνχ(ου) Μεχεὶρ $\overline{\beta}$ ς μη .
[ ] ἄλλας ς ξ κγ ὁ(μοίως) ς π .
[ ] ὁ(μοίως) ς ρ κδ ὁ(μοίως) ς ρ .
25 Ι[.] ἐπ[ι λό]γ(ου) ζ ς ρ κθ ὁ(μοίως) ς Σιβ .
]. ς ρ και ἄλ(λας) ς λς .
] ς [.] ἄλλ(ας) ὁ(μοίως) [
.]. [

10 ετε[ρω ?]ν is in another ink.

16 ἐλέας can hardly be the "reed warbler" of Aristotle, but should doubtless be read ἐλαίας, a measure being understood with $\overline{\beta}$. That $\overline{\beta}$ in these items refers to the day of the month is made improbable by its position

COLUMN XXV

. . . .]. ι δι[.]ν[
ἀνελ(ήμφθη) ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Μεχεὶρ $\overline{\theta}$ π[′ Ἀ]ρχῆτ(ος) ς λβ
Π]ακῦσι ὑ(πὲρ) τέλους πυρο[ῦ
τῷ αὐτῷ οἴνου Ἀτρῇ [
5 π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς η
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς κ
α′ Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) μικ(ρῷ) καὶ Πτολ(εμαίῳ)[
ἀνερχομ(ένοις) ἰ[ς τὴ]ν π[ό]λ(ιν)
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς κ
10 Κοπρῇ α′ Γεμέλλ(ῳ) υἱῷ Σεμ[πρω(νίου)
π′ Ἀρ]χῆ(τος) ς ιβ
α′ Ηλι[
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς μη
π′ τιμ(ῆς) οἴνου ς η
15 Πάπῳ ἰς δαπάνη(ν) ς η
αἴαν ς ιβ
Θαϊσαρίῳ ς ιβ
Σωτηρ(ί)χ(ῳ) ὡς τελώνῃ ὑ(πὲρ) οἴνου διὰ Σώτ(α) ς κδ
π′ Ἀρχῆ(τος) ς κδ
20 Κοπρῇ α′ υἱῷ Σεμπρω(νίου) ς κ
Θαϊσαρίῳ ς δ
ἐπὶ τ(οῦ) Μεχίρ π′ Πτολ(εμαίου) Ψαθήμ(ιος) ς [.]
Σωτ(ηρίχῳ) ὥσ[τε] ποιμένι ς Σ

π′ Κόνχ(ου)
25 β̅ ς μ
ε ἄλ(λας) ς ρ
ιγ ἄλ(λας) ς Σ α′ Σωτη[ρί]χ(ῳ) . [
ις π′ Ἀρχ[ῆ]τ(ος) ς ρκ
(Traces of one line more.)

1 There is a possible trace of a preceding line.
16 This may be intended for *θῖου*, *l. θείου*, *vid. supr.*, Col. 22 : 23.
18 ως is written in above τε.

Verso:

COLUMN XXVI

(Portions of eleven lines, chiefly of receipts.)

2 πλινθ]ευτῇ ς ξ
9 ἐπ]ὶ τ(οῦ) Μεχ(εὶρ) δ [ ]
(The rest of the column was left blank.)

COLUMN XXVII

(Traces of two lines.)

Γερ[μ]α[νῷ . . .]κου ποιμ(ένι) ς κ
ἰς τὴν [πό]λιν ς δ
5 Εὐτυχῇ ς δ
π′ Σώτα [.]
τελώ]νη ς λς
π′ Δ[ι]οσκ(όρου) ς ξδ
τελ[ώ]νη ς ξδ
10 ια π′ Σώτα ς [. .
. . . . .] . . . [ ] ς . .
π′ Γαίου ς ρ
α′ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) διὰ Γαίου ς ρ
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς ξ
15 π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ς κδ
α′ Νείλῳ ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) ς πδ
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ς ρ
α′ Τιθοητίῳ ς ρ
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ς η
20 α′ Νεᾷ ς η

[[π[΄ . . .] ς ι .]]
[[α΄]]
π΄ Σώτα τιμ(ῆς) κεραμ(ίων)β ς λβ
α΄ ἐμοὶ ἰς πῖν ς λβ

18 Τιθοῆτι would be a more usual name, but the reading of ω seems certain.

COLUMN XXVIII

π΄ Σώτα ς ξ ἄλ(λαι) ς μ
α΄ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) [
π[΄ Σ]ώτα ς τ
α΄ Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) . [. . . .] . ς [. .] .
5 [ι]θ π΄ Σώτα ς φμ
α΄ Ὡρίωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) . . νου ς φμ
π΄ ἱερᾶς διὰ Στεσούχ(ου) ς τ
π΄ Γαίου διὰ Ἀτρῆ ς μ
π΄ Νήσου διὰ Ἀτρῆ ς ρμ
10 ἀπόκειται ς [.] .
L ποιμένι ς ρ
Π[ε]τεωου[κ γέρο]ντι φύλακ(ι) ς κδ
π΄ Δημ(ητρίου) οἴνου ς η
κ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ἀργ(υρικῶν) ς ρ
15 ταυρελάταις ς λς
π΄ Ἀτρῆ ς τμ
α΄ Σωτηρ(ί)χ(ῳ) κατὰ μέρος ς [[μη]] τμ
π΄ Ἀτρῆ ς μη
α΄ Σωτηρίχῳ ς μη
20 π΄ Διοσκόρου ς ρ
α΄ ποιμένι ς ρ

6 Perhaps οἴνου
12 *Cf.* Col. 40 : 6.
14 ἀργ(υρικῶν), "for the money tax," seems a more likely expansion than ἀργ(υρίου).

COLUMN XXIX

π΄ Κόνχ(ου) ς [. .]
γ]ναφ[ίσσῃ] ς η

	π´ Κόνχ(ου)	[ϛ] ξ̣	
	ϙ]´ [Σ]ωτηρί[χ(ῳ)]		ϛ ξ
5	π´ Κόνχ(ου)	[ϛ ρ]λ̣β	
	ϙ´ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ)		ϛ ρλβ
	. . . .] .		ϛ κδ
	πλινθ]ευτῇ ἐμοῦ		ϛ η
	. .]αγ( )		ϛ κδ
10	π]´ . [. . . .]	ϛ δ	
	σάκ]κου		ϛ ις
	. . τακτοράφῳ		ϛ δ
	ἰς τὴν πόλ(ιν) Δημητ(ρίῳ)		ϛ η
	αλαες		ϛ δ
15	$\overline{\kappa\beta}$ Φαμενώθ⁻ ἀπόκειτ(αι)		
	———		ϛ̣ Σ̣ιβ
	L συμβολ̣(ῆς)		ϛ δ̣
	μουσικῇ		ϛ[.]
	γέροντ(ι) Νεστεποικ(είτῃ)		ϛ μ̣
20	τελώ(νῃ) διὰ Σώτ(α) ὑ(πὲρ) οἴνο̣υ̣ και[νο]ῦ		
	καὶ κάρρου		ϛ μη
	τιμῆς σάκκ[ου]		ϛ θ (πεντώβολον)
	τιμῆς ὁ(μοίως) πλιαστ( )β⁻		ϛ ε (πεντώβολον)
	γναφίσσῃ		ϛ ι̣β
25	μουσικῇ		ϛ ι̣β

9 *α* is a correction.

10 Possibly ἱ[ερᾶς], although the amount seems unusually small for that item.

12 *Cf.* σαγμε̣τοράφῳ, Col. 38 : 19.

14 *Cf. supr.* on Col. 15 : 19.

19 *Cf.* Col. 3 : 4 and note, reading Νεστοποικείτῃ.

21 κάρρον is a Septuagint word—"chariot, car;" but the connection suggests an adjective agreeing with οἴνου.

24 γνάφισσα is an unusual word. It is plainly the feminine of γναφεύς, and means "fuller-woman," or, perhaps, "washerwoman."

COLUMN XXX

. . . . .]		ϛ Σ
	]Ἱέρακι ὑ(πὲρ) ὄνων̣ κ[	
	κοβ̣αλευοντ( ) ἰς τ[. .] . [	
	ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) ψετ	. [ ] [

5 π′ Περκ(εήσεως) ς ρ[ ]
└ Ἀ[τ]ρῇ ὥστ(ε) [Σ]ωτηρίχῳ [
καὶ Ἱέρακι [ὑ(πὲρ) ἐ]ργ(ατῶν) [
π′ Περκ(εήσεως) ς Σ
α′ ποιμένι . [
10 Πετε[σο]ύχ(ῳ) απ . [ς] Σ
π′ Περκ(εήσεως) ς ξ
α′ . . . τ [. . κ]αὶ υἱοῦ ὑ(πὲρ) οἰκοδ(όμων) ς ξ
τελουμαο[. .] . ὑ(πὲρ) οἰκονόμ(ων) ς νβ
π′ Χαιρήμ(ονος) τιμῆς ἐλέας
15 ἐλέας ς δ̄
└ Πτολεμ(αίῳ) ἀνθ' ( ) ἔχω( ) αὐτ(ός) ς γ
Πεθαοῦ(τι) ἀδελ(φῷ) Σύρου χρήσε(ως) ς Σ
δαπάνης τῆς πόλε(ως) ς κδ
Πτ[ολε]μαίῳ Ψαθῆμι ἀνθ' ( ) ἔχω ς Σ
20 Ἀγριπ]πιαν(ῷ) ὑ(πὲρ) ὕδατος ς κ
π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς [. .]ς ἅλ(λας) ς δ
└ Ἑρμῆτ(ι) ὑ(πὲρ) ἐφορβεας ς δ
Θαϊσαρίῳ καμη(λείτῃ) ς δ
Λο]γγείνῳ ἀνθ' ( ) ἔχω ( ) ς Σμ

4 *Cf. ἰς τὸ ψετ*, Cols. 35 : 10 ; 37 : 21 ; 39 : 3.
5 Notwithstanding names like Περπῆσις, *Gr. Urk.*, 196 : 11, Περκεησεως seems the only reading here. *Cf. infr.*, Col. 38 : 13.
16, 19, 24 Perhaps ἀνθ' (ὧν) ἔχω
22 Perhaps ἐφορβέως

COLUMN XXXI

κζ̄ π′ Γαί]ου
π′ Νή[σου
ι[. . . . . .]α ς υ
Ἱέρ[ακι . . . .] . [. . . .]μ( ) ς ρ
5 Ἱέρ[ακι . . .]ερι[( )] ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) ς ρ
. [. . . κα]μή(λου) ζ[[ου]]ητουμ(ένου) ς δ
Π[αμοῦνι ο]ἰκοδόμῳ ς ρ
. . . . .] ς ρ
. . . . .]ρῳ ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) προβ(ατικοῦ) ς Σ
10 . . . . .] ὑ(περ) ὄνων ς η

Σ]ωτηρίχ(ῳ) ἰς τὴν πόλ(ιν) ς φ
τέλους πυροῦ διὰ Πασί(ωνος) ς η
κζ Οὐρβίκῳ δι[ὰ] Σαραπάμ(μωνος) υἱοῦ Σα-
βείνου με[. .]ρου ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) ὑποδ(ημάτων) ς Σ
15 λεγιωναρί(ῳ) ὑ[(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν)] διὰ κόπου ς ρ
Κάστορι Διυδώρου ς φ
τελώνῃ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐλέας ἐμοῦ ς [. .]
ναύλ(ου) καμ(ήλων) ε̄ Ἁρπαλ(είωνος) ς [ ]ς
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς ξ
20 π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ς ξ
L χωλῷ Γαίῳ κ . [. . . .] ς η
π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) διὰ Κασι(ανοῦ) ς κδ
L Ζωίλῳ ὑ(πὲρ) τιμῆ[ς διὰ] Κασι(ανοῦ) ς ρ
π′ Διοσκόρου ς μ
25 α[′] ποιμένι ἐν ὅλαις [.]ξη

13 Perhaps Σαραπεω(νος).
14 Perhaps με[τό]χου
16 *l.* Διοδώρου; *cf.* Cols. 37:4; 38:23.
22, 23 *Cf.* Κασιανός, *Gr. Urk.*, 388:29, and *infr.*, Cols. 44:8; 45:26; but Κασί(ου), *Gr. Urk.*, 114:I:16 *et passim*, or Κάσι(ος), *Gr. Ost.*, 1306:4 are possible expansions.

COLUMN XXXII

(Traces of three lines, the second an expenditure] ὑ(πὲρ) ἐ[μ]οῦ[.])

α′ Ἀφ]ροδ(ισίῳ) τε[
5 π′ Διοσκό]ρου ς ρ
α′ Σαραπίω(νι) ὥστ(ε) Σωτηρίχ(ῳ)[. .
π′ Διοσ]κόρου κερα(μίου) α ς ις
α′ Παμούνι οἰκοδόμ(ῳ) διὰ ἁλοπώλ[ου
π′ Ἀρ]χῆτ(ος) ς μ
10 π′ [Ἀρ]χῆτ(ος) οἴνου ς ις
α′ ξένῳ πλινθευτ(ῇ) ς ις
Ἑρμῆτι ἐμοῦ ς η
. . . . . χόρτ(ου) ς λβ
συμβολῆς ς ς χα(λκοῦς)
15 Πετεῦρι ὑ[(πὲρ τ]ιμῆς αικι( ) ς κ

χ Τίτῳ ὑ(πὲρ) τ[ι]μῆς χόρτ(ου) ξηρ(οῦ) ς τ
Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) μ[ι]κ(ρῷ) [. . . .] ἀνερχ(ομένῳ) ἰς τὴν πόλ(ιν) ς ις
ἀνθρώ[π]ῳ [ἀν]ε[ρχ(ομένῳ) ἰ]ς τὴν πόλ(ιν) ς κδ
χ Ἀβοῦς Χάρμ[ου ὑ](πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) ἰς κοπὴν ἐπὶ λ(όγου) ς ρ
20 χ π′ Σώτα ς Σ
ϛ′ Ὠρί[ωνι κα]τὰ μέρος ς Σ′
π]′ Σώτα ς υλβ
ϛ′ [Σω]τηρ[ίχ(ῳ)] κατὰ μέρος ς υ[λ]β
π′ υ[ἱο]ῦ Κό[ν]χ(ου) ς μη
25 τῷ αὐ]τῳ Σω[τ]ηρίχ(ῳ) κατὰ μέρος ς μη

15 Wilcken finds αικ( ) on several ostraka of A. D. 43–109, but finds no solution. *Cf. Gr. Ost.*, I, pp. 132, 133, where αἰκ(ία), "injury," and αἰκ(αθήκουσαι) are unfavorably considered. Neither answers here.
17, 18 By πόλις, Arsinoe, the metropolis of the Fayûm, is doubtless meant.
19 *Cf. infr.* Ἀβοῦτι Χάρμου, Col. 38 : 10.

COLUMN XXXIII

π′ Ἀτρ[ῆ
]⌐ [. . . . .].
π′ ἱερᾶ[ς
. . . .] ς [.
5 Γεμέλ[λ(ῳ) . . ς ?μ
Φαρμοῦ(θι) π′ α Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς κ[
αλαες [. . . . .] ς γ (τριώβολον)
[[περισ[τ(εριδίων)]]
Σα[βείνῳ] περισ(τεριδίων) ς νς
10 π′ Θέ[ωνος] ς τ⌐
+ αὐτῷ Θέωνι ὑ(πὲρ) ἐργ(ατῶν) ς τ⌐
Στεσούχ(ῳ) ς ιβ⌐ χ(αλκοῦς)
Σαβείνῳ περι(στεριδίων) ς νβ
β π′ μισθωτ(οῦ) περιστ(ερώνων) Βακχ(ιώτου)
15 ς ρ
ϛ′ Ἰουλια(νῷ) Παουᾶλις ς ρ · [
π]′ [Ἀ]τρῆ ς ρ
π′] Διοσκ(όρου) ς ρ

π′] Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ ρ
ϙ′ Παουᾶλις ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτου ϛ ρ χ(αλκοῦς)
Πρωτάρχ(ῳ) τιμῆς κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρταβῶν) γ ϛ λ (ὀβολοὶ δύο) χα(λκοῦς)
π′ Ἀτ]ρῆ ϛ ιϛ
ϙ′ Ἀρποχρ[ᾷ] ταυρελάτῃ ϛ [ ]ϛ

2 The day of the month probably stood in the margin.
3 Two lines of expenditures have been lost between 3 and 4.
6 The date Φαρμοῦ(θι) α is in another ink, and was written in at a different time from π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος), with which it articulates.
7 *Cf. supr.* on Col. 15 : 19; also Col. 29 : 14.

COLUMN XXXIV

(Traces of two lines.)

. . . . .] . ἰς τὴν [πόλιν
. . . .] . [ἰ]ς τὴν πόλ(ιν) ϛ . [
. .] Μεμφίτ(ῃ) ϛ η
. . .] ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) προβ(ατικοῦ) ϛ Σ
⟦ϛ τ⟧
π[′ .] Ἀτρῆ ϛ Σ
π[′] ια Ἀτρῆ ϛ ρμ
] ϛ κδ
]δελφακ(ίου) ἰς τὴν πόλ(ιν) νεω . [.] . [. .] ϛ ιη

ἀπόκειτ(αι) ϛ τπη χα(λκοῦς)
L τιμῆς [δ]ιὰ Πακύσε(ως) ϛ μ
Πτ[ο]λ(εμαίῳ) ὀ[νηλά]τῃ ϛ ιβ-
Ὡ[ρί]ω[νι διὰ] Νιτ(είρου) ϛ Σ-
τ]ελώνῃ [. . .] . . υ ϛ κϛ
. . . .]κοπριακῶν ϛ λδ
π′ Σώτα ϛ μ
L κα . θηλ(ειῶν) καμηλικ(ῶν) ζευγ(ῶν) β̅ διὰ π[.]. ϛ κδ-
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ ξ
L [.] . α . [.] . [.] . [. .] . . . . . η [. .] κ . δε̅ χόρτ(ου) ϛ [.] .
π′ Κόνχ(ου) ϛ π
L [Πέ]νν[ι .]ερ[. . . . Ἀρ]ποχρᾷ ταυρελ(άτῃ) ϛ λβ-
π′ Χαιρήμ(ονος) ϛ Ἀϛ[
L ναύλ(ου) Διδύμῳ [.] .

3 A line has perhaps been drawn through *ις*.
6 The following note is in the right margin: *καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) τ . . . . [. . . . . .]*
ς 2χμη ἄλ(λαι) ς ριβ | ἄλ(λαι) δι[. . . . . .] . . . . . ς υογ– | . . .[. . . . . .]η |
καὶ ὑ(πὲρ) [. . . . . .] . .
10 *Vid. supr.*, Col. 23 : 8.
12 Or ∟ *τιμ(ῆς) η[. . . δ]ια*, etc.
13 *Cf.* Col. 9 : 18.
18 *καρ θηλ ? διὰ Π[α]κ(ύσεως) ?*
22 Perhaps *Πέ]νν[ι τ]αυ[ρε]λ(άτῃ)*, etc.

COLUMN XXXV

(Portions of nine lines of expenditures, l. 1 ending] *αἱ λοιπ(αί)* ς *τ*)

10 *α[. .] . [. . . . . .] ἰς τὸ ψετ* ς *δ*
. [. . .] . . [. .] ἰς ἐργ(άτας) ς *η*
[[ς *ιβ*]]
σ[υμ]βολ(ῆς) ς *δ*
ποιμένι ς *Σ*
προ . . . . Ἱέρακι [ς] *Σ*
Σ[α]βίνῳ Ἱέρ[ακος] ς . [.]
. . .] *Παουᾶλ[ις*] ς *μ* .
∟ *καμηλ(είτῃ) γέρ[οντι]* ς *ϛς*
. .] *Σωτηρίχ(ῳ)* ς *ρος*
20 *τ]ῷ αὐτ(ῷ) τιμ(ῆς) κνιδίο[υ*] ς . [
π΄] Σ[ε]μπρ[ω](νίου) τιμ(ῆς) κνιδ(ίου) ς *κδ*
π[΄] Χαιρήμονος καὶ ἄλλων οἰνο[π]ωλ(ῶν) τιμῆς οἴν[ου
πραθέντ(ος) δι' αὐτ(ῶν) ς *β̄Σ* [[. .]]*πθ* (*πεντώβολον*) *ἄλ(λαι)*
ς *Σ*[.]*δ*
. . . . . .]*ω Χαιρήμονι ἰς [ν]αῦλ[α]* [[. . [. .]]] ς [.]*ωξγ*
. . . .] *χόρτ(ου) ξηροῦ* [[*καὶ* . .]] ς *φδ*
καὶ χλωροῦ ς *τξβ*
χ Διδύμῳ ὑ(πὲρ) ὀψω(νίου) [. .] μ [. .]α [.] ς [

10 *Cf.* Cols. 37 : 21 ; 39 : 3.
19 Here begins a much finer, clearer writing, which has, moreover, suffered less from dampness.
20 A diminutive of *κνίδη*, "nettle," seems to be intended ; *vid. infr.*, Col. 39 : 16. Kenyon's *κνίδιον*, a measure of wine, *Greek Papyri*, II, p. 314, can hardly be meant here.

23 The apparent erasure may be only an accidental blotting.
25 The writer evidently erased the partly written *καὶ χλωροῦ* to make it a separate item.

COLUMN XXXVI

		. . . . . .] *και κ* . [.] *μου*[	
		. . . . . .] . *ιω αἱ λοι*[*π*(*αὶ*)	
	. . . .	] ς *ρ*[	
		. . . . .] *ὡς ἀναλώσῃ α*[. .]	ς *ρκ*[
5		. . . . .]*λι Κερκεσούχ*(*ων*)	ς *η*
		. . . . . *ἀ*]*ρρέ*(*νων*) $\overline{\beta}$ *θηλ*(*ειῶν*) [.]	ς *ρνβ*
		. . . . . .]*απο* ς [. .]*επι* [. . .]	ς *μη*
		τιμῆς κερα]*μ*(*ίων*) *γ* ς *μη*	
	π′ Κ[*όνχ*(*ου*)] ς *ξη*		
10		L *τροφῆς ὄνων* $\overline{\epsilon}$ *ἰς Μέμφιν*	ς *ι* (*ὀβολοὶ δύο*)
		Σεύθ[*ῃ*] *ὀψωνίου*	ς *η*
		Πέννι	ς *δ*
	ζ	*τει*[*μῆς* .] . . [.] . [. . . . .]*ηρα κεραμ*(*εῖ*)	ς *π*
		Χαιρήμονι βελ[. . .]*η ὑ*(*πὲρ*) *χόρτ*(*ου*)	ς *μ* .
15		*Σαραπίωνι* . . [.]*δ*( ) *ἰς ἐργ*(*άτας*) *θ*[*ερί*]*ζ*(*οντας*)	ς *π* .
		Εὐτυχῇ[ ] *ἐ*[*μ*]*οῦ ἰς ἐργ*(*άτας*)	ς [. .]
		[[*Κανώπ*[*ῳ*]]	
		Θοτεῦτι [*δ*]*ιὰ Κανώπου*	ς [.]*η*
		Ἴσᾳ πλι[*νθ*]*ευτ*(*ῇ*) *ἰς ε*[. . . . . .] . *η*	ς [.]
20		*τελώνῃ* [. . .] . [. . . .] *ε* [ ]*ρκη* .	ς [.]
		καὶ ὑ(*πὲρ*) *ἐλαι*[*ῶ*]*ν εμ*[. . . .]	ς . [.]
	$\overline{\iota}$ *π′* Κόνχ(*ου*) ς *ξ*		
		L *Κανώ*[*πῳ*]	ς *κ*
		τελώνῃ ὑ(*πὲρ*) *οἴνου κε*[*ρ*(*αμίων*)] *ιδ*	ς *μ*

14 Perhaps *Χαιρήμονι βεν*[

COLUMN XXXVII

	. . . . .] . [. .] . *κω χρ*[*ήσεως*	
	. . . . .·.]*ηρα ὑ*(*πὲρ*) *χόρτ*(*ου*) *χ*[*λ*]*ωρ*(*οῦ*)	ς *κ*
	. . . .]*αποφιλω αυτ*[. .]	ς *η*
	Κάστο]*ρι Διοδώρου*	ς *φ*
5	. . . . . .] . . ς *ϙ*	

Χαιρήμ]ονι σιτ[ο]λόγ(ῳ) ὑ(πὲρ) [Π]ερκ(εήσεως)
(πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν) . . ς η
Χαι]ρ[ή]μονι σιτολό[γ(ῳ) χ]ρήσ(εως) ἄλλ[αι
Λο]γγείνῳ χρήσ[ε]ω[ς] ς [.
γ]ναφείου ς κ
10 Ῥωμαϊκῷ ς δ
στίππου διὰ Πακύσεως [ς] δ
ναῦλον καμήλ(ων) ς υπ ἐλέας . οἴνου ς ρ ἄλ(λαι) ς κ
συμβολῆς [ς] κ
λείνου δο[. .] ς λς
15 Ἡρᾶτι ἐμοῦ ς [.]ξ
ἐργατικῶν ς κ
λεπτῆς δαπάνης [.] . π

τελώνῃ . [. . . .] ε . . . . ς [. .] .
οἴνου κεραμ(ίων) [. . .] . . . ἐπὶ λ(όγου) ς κς [[. . ς]]
20 ἄλλου οἴνο[υ] ς [[ξδ]]ξ . [.
τιμῆς . [. . .] . ἰς τὸ ψετ ς λ .
Νεστοποικήτῃ γέροντ(ι) ἐμοῦ ς μ
Εὐτυχῇ ἰς ἔργα ἐλιου[ργίας] ς δ

9 "For washing, fulling?" The ordinary meaning, "fuller's shop," is not appropriate.
11 "For tow" (*l.* στυππείου?), *cf.* Kenyon, *Greek Papyri*, II, στιππουργός, p. 332, στιππεων, p. 334, in papyri of the sixth or seventh century.
12 Perhaps κ(α)ὶ οἴνου
16 Possibly "wages."
19 Possibly ριβ before ἐπὶ λ(όγου)
21 *Cf.* Cols. 35 : 10 ; 39 : 3.
22 *Cf.* Col. 3 : 4 and note.
23 Or ἐργά(τας)

COLUMN XXXVIII

. . . . σ]υμβο[λ(ῆς)] ς κα (πεντώβολον)
π′ [Χ]αιρήμονος ξα
Ῥωμαϊκῷ ὑ(πὲρ) προφε[. .]( )[
Τρύφωνι νομογράφῳ ὑ(πὲρ) οἰκ(ίας) ἀν[αγρ(αφομένης)
5 λαχά(νων) καὶ δαπάν(ης) [
Ἑρμῆτι ἐμοῦ [

π]´ Διοσκόρου ϛ ρ
ϙ´ Δημητ(ρίῳ) ἰς ὀψώνια κατὰ μῆνα ἰς τει[μ(ὴν) ἐλ]έας ϛ ρι̣
π´ Διοσκόρου ϛ ρ
L Ἀβοῦτι Χάρμου ἰς τιμὴν χόρτ(ου) ἰς κοπήν ϛ π[.
N[εᾷ ἰ]ς κοπὴν χόρτ(ου) [.] .
ζ [Ο]ὐαλερίῳ ὑ(πὲρ) ναύλ(ου) ἐλέας καὶ οἴν(ου) ϛ . [.]
[ἰ]ς Περκεῆσιν τιμ(ῆς) . [. .]λλητη[. . .] ϛ η
Οὐαλερίῳ χρυσοχόῳ ϛ
π´ Σαμ̣ε̣λα ἀπὸ τειμ(ῆς) φοινίκ(ων) ϛ ω .
τιμῆς σατης [. .] . [.]ηλι[. . .]κ̣υσ( ) ϛ μ
Ἑρμῆ]τι ὁμοίως ζεύγ(ους) α [ ] ἄ̣λ̣(λαι) ϛ ιϛ
τιμῆς κερ̣α̣μ̣(ίων) ὁ(μοίως) ϛ ἀπο[.] . [. .] . τη[. .] .
διὰ Σαρα(πίωνος) ϛ ξ
σαγμ̣ε̣τ̣ο̣ράφῳ ϛ μ
Κ̣άνωνι[. . . . .] π̣[.] . τιμῆς οἴν[ου] ϛ μ
Π[α]κ[ῦ]σι ἰς ναῦλα καμήλ(ων) ϛ κ̣δ
[[Εὐτυχῆτι]] Ἁρποκράτ(ῃ) Βακχ(ιώτῃ) ἀπὸ . τ[. . . . .] ϛ Σ̣
Κάστορι [Διο]δώρου ἄλλαι [. .]η
Εὐτυχῆτ[ι ἰς τὸν] θερισμόν [. .]
π´ οἴνου[. .]

1 Or is this an expenditure, with the figures set in the wrong column?
4 On νομογράφος, "scribe of the nome," *cf. Fayûm Towns*, p. 132 (A. D. 158), p. 138 (A. D. 150–51). The payment is for registration.
13 The name recalls [Κ]ερκεῆσις; *cf. Fayûm Towns*, p. 108; but the reading Περκεῆσιν is unmistakable here.
19 Perhaps σαγμα-
23 *Cf.* Cols. 31:16; 37:4.

COLUMN XXXIX

Δημητρίῳ χρήσεω(ς) ϛ [.
Πτολεμαίῳ Ἰουλίου [
Ἱέρακι ἰς τὸ ψετ διὰ τοῦ γραμ[ματ(έως)
ναῦλον καμήλ(ων) Ἁρπαλεί(ωνι) [
Οὐαλερίῳ ὁ(μοίως) καμήλ(ου) α´ [[[].[]]
ι̣θ Θοτεῦτι διὰ τοῦ κεραμέως ϛ τ⸗ [[ϛ Συβ]]
ναύλ(ου) καμήλ(ων) Ταμαλε β̅ ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) ϛ η
Ἀγριππίνου ὁμοίως δ̅ ϛ η
συμβολῆς ϛ δ

10 ..]η κα[μηλ]ά̣τῃ ς ξ
Α̣[ρ]ποκρι ταυρελάτῃ ς κ̣
Π̣αμοῦνι ἰς σχοινιο(πλόκους) ς κ̣ (πεντώβολον)
Ἰ̣εντιευ ταυρελάτῃ ς κ
Οὐ̣αλερίῳ χρυσοχόῳ ς κ
15 σάκκου τριχ[ίν]ου ς [.]η̣
π′ ..[..]δ( ) κνιδ(ίου) ἐπὶ λόγ(ου) ς ις
τελώ[ν]ῃ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐλέας ἐμοῦ ς νβ
οἴνου κερ[α]μ(ίων) [ ] [..].
Εὐ̣]τυχῇ̣ [...]
20 ᾳ[′ Πα]ουᾶλις ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) προβ(ατικοῦ) ς [..]
πράκτ(ορσι) Ἡφαιστ(ιάδος) ς λς
{[[Ὠ[ρί]ωνι π[...]α̣[..χρ]ήσεω(ς) .. ς ρ]]}
π′ [Ὠρ]ίων[ος] ς ρξ
τι̣[μῆς ....]. ὑ(πὲρ) παλαιοῦ .. ς λ̣[

3 *Cf.* Cols. 30:4; 35:10; 37:21.
4 Perhaps Ἀρπαλεί(ωνος)
5 α′ is a correction from δ′
7 *Cf.* Col. 41:7.
13 *Cf.* Col. 11:24.
15 But the space would accommodate [ι] better.
21 *Cf.* Col. 6:7.

COLUMN XL

ἰχθυοπώλ(αις) θερίζουσι [..
Βακχιώτ(αις) θερίζ(ουσι) ς [.
Π̣αβούκᾳ θερίζ(οντι) ς δ[
πλινθευτ(αῖς) δυσὶ θερίζ(ουσι) ς η[
5 Κουλιπᾶνι τιμ(ῆς) βοὸς ἐπὶ λ(όγου) [.]ι[
Πετεωουκ διὰ Σ̣[ώ]τ(α) ς δ
Εὐ̣τυχῆτι ἄλλας ς δ
Κέλτι διὰ Πακύσεως ἄλ(λας) ς β (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
π Κόνχ(ου) ἐπὶ τῆς νεομ(ηνίας) ς μ
10 [[ις πη[.]]]
ᾳ′ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) διὰ Χαιρήμ(ονος) ς μ
π Κόνχ(ου) ς λ
ᾳ′ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) κριθ(ῆς) (ἀρταβῶν) . [.] ς λ ..

Κόνχου
π′ ιε [[βίκω̣ν]] ϛ ρ
ϙ′ Σωτηρίχ(ω̣) [ϛ] ρ
π′ ιζ̣ Κόνχ(ου) ϛ ρ
ϙ′ Σωτηρίχ(ω̣) [. .]θοτ [. .] · [ ] ϛ ρ
κγ π′ Κόνχ(ου) ϛ ρ̣ . (ὀβολοὶ δύο)
ϙ′ Σωτηρίχ(ω̣) [ϛ]ρ̣
π′ Κ̣ό̣ν̣χ(ου) ϛ Σ
ϙ′ ποιμ[ένι] διὰ Πρωτάρχ(ου) τιμ(ῆς) χ[όρτ(ου) ϛ]Σ
π′ [Κ]όνχ(ου) ϛ [.]
[. . . . . .] Χαιρήμονο[ς]ε̣

1–4 The services of brickmakers, fish dealers, people of the neighboring Bacchias, and others seem to have been called into requisition for harvesting.

3 *Cf.* Παβούκας Παβούκα, *Gr. Urk.*, 426, R. 23, *et passim.*

5 *Cf.* Col. 41 : 12, 13.

6 *Cf.* Col. 28 : 12.

14, 16 ιε and ιζ should be days of the month, but they seem to be out of order, unless a new month is begun with νεομηνίας of l. 9, which leaves practically no items for a whole fortnight. Probably ll. 9–17 represent belated items belonging to the early part of the same month.

COLUMN XLI

Ε]ὐ̣τυχῇ̣ ϛ η
π′ Διο]σκόρου ϛ μ
ϙ′ Ἰουλιανῷ Πα̣ο̣υ̣ᾶλις ϛ μ
π′ Διοσκόρου ϛ λβ
ϙ′ Πτολε(μαίῳ) βουκόλῳ ϛ λβ
π′ Διοσκ(όρου) ϛ ρ
ϙ′ Ταμαλε ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) π̣ροβ(ατικοῦ) ϛ ρ
Σεύθῃ ϛ μ
κδ π′ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ϛ μ
ϙ′ Θερμουθίῳ ϛ μ
π[′ Ἀ]ρχῆ[τ(ος)] [ϛ] κη
Κο[υ]λ̣ι̣πᾶνι αἱ λοιπ(αὶ) τιμ(ῆς) βοός ϛ π̣
π′ Κουλιπᾶνι ϛ η
Παμοῦνι οἰκοδόμ(ῳ) ϛ ρ
ἰς ἀνθρώπινον .[. .]πρου( ) ϛ η
ἁ̣λ[ι]ε̣ῦ̣σ̣ι ὥστε [τε]λώ[ν]ῃ ϛ η

	κε	τελώνῃ ὑ(πὲρ) ἐλέας	ς κδ
		Ἑρμῆτι ὑ(πὲρ) βιατίκου	ς ξς
		. . . .]. . . . . .[. .] τ[. .]λ( ) . . ποντ( ) ἡμιναύλ(ου)	ς ρμ .
20		. .[. . . . .]	[.] κ[.
		δ[α]πάνης ἐν τῇ πόλι	[.]
		συμβολ[ῆς]	. [.]
		Ἀγρ[ιπ]π[ίν]ῳ	ς . [.]
		λίνο[υ]	ς . .
25		π . . [.]κ . [. . . .]ω	ς . [ ]
		. . . . . .]ω χρήσε(ως) κεραμ(ίων)[	. . .]
		. . . . . .]τη χρήσε(ως)	[.] .

7 *Cf.* Col. 39 : 7.

16 Perhaps ἐλλευσι ?

18 *Cf. Gr. Urk.*, 423 : 9, ἔλαβα βιάτικον παρὰ Καίσαρος χρυσοῦς τρεῖς, in a letter of the second century A. D.

COLUMN XLII

	? ὀψω]νίων	[. .
	κρε]ῶν	ς η
	? ἐξα]κτόρων	ς ι[[.]]η
	κυριακῶν	ς δ
5	κοπταρίων	ς . (πεντώβολον)
	λαχάνων	(τετρώβολον)
	ἀρίστου	ς α (πεντώβολον)
	ἰσσύπου	(τετρώβολον)
	Πτολ(εμαίῳ) Ἰουλίου	ς ιβ
10	δο[.]κ( ) Κολόβῳ λυχνοκ(αΐας) [. .] ς μη ἄλ(λας)	ς η
	φο[ιν]ίκ(ων) [Τα]μαλε . .	ς ι[ ]
	ε[.] . [. .] . η	ς η
	π′ Κόν[χ(ου)] ς ρ	
	α′ Σαβείνῳ Ἱέρα[κ(ος) . .]ιτ( )	ς ρ
15	π′ Ν[ή]σου ς ρ	
	π′ [. . .]ου ς ρ	
	α′ κονιατῇ διὰ [. .] . [. . . .] .	ς Σ
	Εὐ]τυχῇ ἡμῶν [ ]	ς [. .
	Κανώπῳ ἐν χρή[σει]	ς ρ[
20	Σε[ύθ]ῃ	ς . [

π′ Ἀτρῆ ς ξ
περιστ(εριδίων) διὰ Ἀτρῆ ου[. .]ην( ) ς η
τ[ε]λώνῃ Ἱέρακι δ .[. .]. ς Σ
σα . . κτορε[. .]ατρ . . . . . ς η
δ[[Ὡρίωνος [. . .] . . ς . .]]
θίου ς δ
π′ Θερμουθ(ίου) ς μ[
Ἄμμων[ι . . .]ξυλ( ) Τίτου ς ις
π[′] Διοσκ(όρου) [. κ
α′ Σ[ω]τη[ρί]χ(ῳ) κατὰ μ(έρος) ιη ς [

(Traces of five lines more.)

5 *κοπτάριον*, a form used in the medical writer Dioscorides as a diminutive of *κοπτή*, meaning a "cake of pounded sesame."

8 *l. ὑσσώπου*, "caper plant."

10 This recalls the mention in Herodotus, 2, 62, of the festival of this name celebrated at Sais and throughout Egypt: Ἐς Σάϊν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι τῇσι θυσίῃσι, ἔν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἁλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου· ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον· καὶ τῇ ὁρτῇ οὔνομα κέεται Λυχνοκαΐη. But it is possible that *λυχνοκ(αυτίας)* should be read.

17 On *κονιατῆ* ("a plasterer") *cf.* Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.*, II, p. 393, where *κονιαταῖς*, *κονιαταί* occur in third- or fourth-century accounts; also Kenyon, *Gr. Papyri*, I, p. 170, where *κονι(ατῇ)* occurs in accounts of A. D. 78–9, and II, p. 186, where *κονίασις* is interpreted as meaning "cleaning."

COLUMN XLIII

. .] κατὰ μέρος ς φ
L Σαραπίωνι ς ις
. . . . . ς μ
τῷ αὐτῷ ς μ[.
Σ]ωτηρίχῳ ς μ
τῷ αὐτῷ ς μ
σχοινιοπλόκοις ς Σ
Σαραπίωνι {α Σανένι} ς ξ
Σανένι δι' Ἐριέως ς ξ
[[. ἐλέας ῥαφανίνου ς ξ]]
π′ Ἀτρῆ ς χL ς a⁻

π´ Ἀτρ[ῆ . . .] . κησ . ι[.] . [.]ν ἀναλ(ώματος)
κλη[. . . . . .] ς ρπ[. .
L Ἀτρῇ καὶ . .[.] . . [. . . . .] καὶ Σαραπί-
15 ἀναλ(ώματα) οἰκοδ(ομίας) ωνι σκληρ[. . .] . [.] . [.] διχ(ώρου) ς ιϛ
Σαραπίω(νι) δι . [. . . . . .]τη[.] . . α ς ιϛ
Διοσκόρ(ῳ) κλ[. .] . [. .] . [.] . [. .]κ( ) ς ιϛ
. . . .]λ( ) ταυρελάτ[η] α[ ] [ς] ιϛ
Ὡρ[ίω]νι[. .]αερ [ ] λβ ?
20 Κοπρῇ Εὐτυχ(ῆ)τ(ος) ς μη
π´] Κ[όν]χ(ου) ημ . [ ]ζ´
σχοι⟨νι⟩οπλόκ[οις] [
π´ Κόνχ(ου) ς ω
π]´ Κόνχ(ου) αἱ κα[τὰ] μέρος . . [.] .
σα[ι] ς π
L Σανένι δι' Ἑρ[ιέως] ς [.

COLUMN XLIV

Χ[αι]ρ[ή]μονι . [ ] ς [.
π´ Κόνχ(ου) διχ(ώρων) ζ ς ριβ
L ἐμοὶ ἰς πεῖν ς [.] .
Σεύθῃ [. .]
5 π´ Διοσκ(όρου) ς ψ
[[π´ . . . .]]
π´ Διοσκ(όρου) διχ(ώρων) ε ς τνε (τριώβολον)
L Κασιανῷ διχ(ώρου) ς τ
Ἀτρῇ κατὰ μη(νιαῖα) [. .] . α [. .]
10 Ἀφ[ρο]δ(ισίῳ) μικ(ρῷ) [κατὰ] μηνια(ῖα) [. .]
Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) μικ(ρῷ) [. .] . . . [. .]τ[ ] ς [.]ς
Π]ετεσούχ(ῳ) κατὰ μηνι[(αῖα) . .]α[ς [
]. . ς τη . .]]
καὶ Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ς δ (τετρώβολον)
15 Ἀφροδ(ισίῳ) [. .]
Ἄμμωνι [. .] .
σ[υμβο]λ(ῆς) [. .]

ἐμοί ς [.
Ἀγρ[ιππί]νῳ [. .
ποιμένι ὑ(πὲρ) [. .] . . [
π´ Ἀρχῆτ(ος) ς πLγ (τετρώβολον)
Κολόβῳ ἐν χρή[σι ς Σ

2 διχ(ώρων); *cf. Fayûm Towns*, No. CCXX, and Wilcken, *Gr. Ost.*, I, p. 763.
8 The name Κασιανός occurs also in *Gr. Urk.*, 388, Col. 1:29. *Vid. supr.*, Col. 31:22, 23; *infr.*, Col. 45:26.
9 On μηνιαῖον *cf. O. P.*, I, p. 234; *Gr. Urk.*, 552:4; 598:5, *et passim.*
17 Or perhaps Γ[εμέλ]λ(ῳ)

COLUMN XLV

ἀπόκειτ[αι
Ὡρίω[νι
L πλ[ι]νθευ[τῇ] ἐμοῦ ς λβ
[[περιστερ[ιδί]ων ς . δ .]]
κρέως ς ιδ χ[α(λκοῦς)
β π´ Σώτα ς ωνς
L ποιμένι ς τμη
Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) διὰ γυναικὸς Λιτιᾶ ς ις
[[ἐλε[ο]υργ(οῖς) ἐν χρήσι ς . .]]
ποιμένι ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτου ς υ
π´ Σώτα ς ϩρις
ἅπ]ερ ἀνάλω[σ]εν Σωτήριχ(ος) φεμελ( )[ ] ς . ς
. .]ω ἀπὸ Φαρμοῦ(θι) [. . ἕω]ς Παχ(ὼν) α ς ψ . [ ] .
Ὡ]ρίωνι ὁμοίως ς [. .
] . .
. [. . .]ειωνος . [
Θαι]σαρίῳ [
ηπηνεχον . . [ ] ἰς [Μέ]μφιν [
Θοτεῦτι διὰ Νειτείρ[ο]υ [
κληρο[ύ]χ(ῳ) ἀνερχ(ομένῳ) ἰς τὴν πόλ(ιν) ς . [
π´] Ἀτρῆ ς Σλς
L ποιμέν[ι . .] . . ι ς ρ[
π´ Κόνχ(ου) ς Σ
L ποιμένι[. . . .] [. .]

π′ —— η ϛ ις
ϙ′ Κασιανῷ ὑ(πὲρ) τιμ(ῆς) πυροῦ λοιπ(αί) ϛ . [. .]

l. ἀνήλωσεν

COLUMN XLVI

. [. .
Πορφυρ[ίῳ . .
Σωτηρίχῳ[ ]. .
Σωτηρίχ(ῳ) ϛ ρ
Πα[κ]ῦσι ὑ(πὲρ) χόρτ(ου) ϛ [.]δ
. . . [. .] . ων ὑ(πὲρ) κερ(αμίων) γ [ϛ μ]η
ἀπόκ(ειται)
ϛ βτϛ χα(λκοῦς)
L [περ]ιστεριδ(ίων) ϛ ξ
Σε]ύθῃ ἐ[ν] χρήσι ϛ κ
ζ [ἰς] τὴν πόλιν ϛ κ

(Portions of four lines.)

. . . .] ὑ(πὲρ) στήμο[ν]ος ϛ [.] .
πλιν]θευτῇ ἐμοῦ ϛ κ
ϛ]Σ
. . . . .]νου διχ(ώρων) γ ϛ μη
L Σέξτω διχ(ώρου) α ϛ ις
ἐμοὶ δ . . . . . [
ἐμοὶ . . . . . [
π′ Σ]ώτα ϛ Σξ
L Θοτεῦτι . [

COLUMN XLVII

Illegible traces of the first six lines are all that the papyrus shows.

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THE BATTLE OF KADESH

THE BATTLE OF KADESH

A STUDY IN THE EARLIEST KNOWN MILITARY STRATEGY*

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

THE beginnings of military strategy in all books upon the subject are passed over with a few general remarks. Students of the subject are not orientalists and their discussions begin with Greek sources. Although the present writer, it is needless to say, is totally without special knowledge of the subject, it has seemed to him that the most notable of the materials from the early Orient should be studied from this point of view, and made accessible to the student of military history. We shall never possess sufficient data on the wars of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria to build up a work like that of Kromayer on the battlefields of Greece,[1] but the surviving materials, which carry our knowledge of military strategy a thousand years back of Greek times have never been employed for this purpose at all; and this essay is designed to furnish a beginning, at least, in the explanation of these materials. As it is hoped that this contribution may be used by many who are not orientalists, I must ask my fellow Egyptologists to excuse the translation and explanation of some things which, however obvious to them, must be made clear to those not familiar with Egyptian. For the same reasons I have also withheld almost all grammatical discussion. It should also be further said that the following essay does not intend to discuss the political aspects of this battle, either in the conditions which led up to it, or those which resulted from it. My purpose is only to make clear the military maneuvers involved in the battle. The exact method of deploying troops in action I have also not intended to discuss. It will be evident from the reliefs that well-disciplined battle lines were maintained, and that disorganized, hand-to-hand fighting resulted only when the enemy's lines were broken. This last question needs special investigation.[2]

The fundamental difficulty in the study of the military operations of the earlier pre-Hellenic world is lack of data. How large, for example, were the armies with which Assyria and Egypt were wont to plunder Syria? What was the disposition of the armies at the battle of Carchemish? How did an Assyrian commander marshal his forces upon the field? What were the methods of attack? We cannot answer one of these fundamental questions. In Egypt, as we shall see, the case is slightly better; but there are only two battles of which the dispositions are indicated. In all others the records are such that we should be utterly unable to affirm that the commanders had yet learned the value of clever manipulation of forces.[3] These two battles are

* Paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists at Hamburg in September, 1902.

[1] J. KROMAYER, *Antike Schlachtfelder in Griechenland*, Berlin, 1903.

[2] In Ramses III.'s day the Purasat-Philistines are seen fighting by groups of four (CHAMP., *Mon.*, 220–220 *bis* = ROS., *Mon. stor.*, 127, 128, and MÜLLER, *Asien*, pp. 365, 376).

[3] There is, however, much material for studying the larger strategic of a series of campaigns designed to effect the conquest of all Syria As I expect to show in a later work, the general plan of the Egyptian kings in such campaigns was first to secure the sea-coast, and then to operate against the interior from this coast as a base, having rapid and unbroken water connection with Egypt.

Megiddo and Kadesh. At Megiddo, already in the sixteenth century before Christ, we find Thutmose III., disposing his troops as in modern times, with a center and two wings, or "horns" as he calls them, of each of which he gives the exact location. His enemy also was drawn up in the same way. But Kadesh is still more instructive, because here we can follow the shrewd maneuvers of the Asiatics, which preceded the battle. No incident in Eygptian history is so impressed upon the mind of the traveler in Egypt as this battle between the forces of Ramses II. and those of the Hittites at Kadesh on the Orontes, in the fourteenth century before Christ. The young king's supreme effort to save himself and his army from destruction is so often depicted and in such graphic pictures upon the walls of the great temples, that no visitor, not even the most blasé "globe-trotter" can ever forget it. Yet this dramatic event, so prominent that it attracts the attention of even the most casual visitor over and over again, has never received any exhaustive study. It is the earliest battle in history, the strategic of which can be largely determined in detail; and yet this has never been done.

After Champollion's first recognition of the nature of the so-called poem on the battle, the first study of the poem was that of Salvolini[4] in 1835, which was necessarily primitive. Then followed a study of the battle by Lenormant,[5] in 1858, which contained fatal errors, due to the exclusive use of the Abu Simbel version. These errors were immediately exposed by Chabas[6] with caustic comments, which, addressed by a wine merchant to an academician, must have been exceedingly galling. But the admirable Chabas accompanied his remarks by irrefutable data, drawn from the "Record"[7] inscription, of which he built up a text by combining the Ramesseum and Abu Simbel versions in a manner that is almost modern for thoroughness.[8] Yet oddly enough, the only *elaborate* treatment of the battle in a modern history is hopelessly astray from the same cause which misled Lenormant, viz., the exclusive use of the Abu Simbel version, the omissions of which were pointed out by Chabas nearly fifty years ago. But Chabas was necessarily in his day too much occupied with buttressing his renderings to give any attention to the character of the battle. De Rougé's admirable study of the so-called poem[9] on the battle to which we owe our first full knowledge of it was likewise not intended as an investigation of the battle, but purposed only the determination of the text and proper translation. It was a textual and literary study. Brugsch (*Gesch.*, pp. 491–513) gave an elaborate presentation of the sources in German, but made no attempt to digest them or follow the details of the

[4] *Campagne de Rhamsès-le-Grand (Sesostris) contre les Schèta et leurs alliés.* Manuscrit hiératique égyptien appartenant à M. Sallier. Notice sur ce manuscrit par FRANÇOIS SALVOLINI, Paris, 1835.

[5] In *Correspondant*, VII, February, 1858, 2d article. I was unable to procure it, and my information is drawn from Chabas's account of it.

[6] *Rev. arch.*, 1858–59, XV², pp. 573 ff. and 701 ff.

[7] This and the other documentary sources on the battle are discussed below, pp. 5–8.

[8] CHABAS was conscious of the thoroughness of his method, for he says (*ibid.*, p. 735): "Je me crois en mesure d'affirmer que ma version est aussi certaine que peut l'être une traduction d'un texte grec ou latin," which was putting his case more strongly than we should do for ourselves today.

[9] First published as a translation only in 1855, and then more fully, with the texts, by his son after E. de Rougé's death (*Rev. ég.*, III–IX).

battle. Rev. H. G. Tomkins's study of this battle (*TSBA.*, VII, 390 ff.) was unfortunately made without all the data to be gained from the texts, but shows good use of what he had. Failure to observe the sequence of events made any clear outline of movements impossible. Erman (*Aegypten*, pp. 696–701) purposed only a description of the incidental occurrences and of the life depicted in the reliefs, rather than a study of the dispositions of the armies. E. Meyer (*Gesch.*, pp. 288, 289), with his usual acuteness, indicates in three lines the real nature of the Hittite attack. But he does not go into the preliminary maneuvers by which the attack was made possible. W. M. Müller's brief reference to the battle (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 215 f.), was evidently not intended as a study of the battle, but merely to contribute to his investigation of the geography of Kadesh and vicinity. Finally Maspero in his *Struggle of the Nations*[10] (pp. 390–98) offers an elaborate study of the battle. Already in 1875, in his excellent little *Histoire* (pp. 220 f.) he had correctly perceived the essential maneuvers which led up to the battle, and was the first one to perceive them. In his latest study, however (*Struggle*, pp. 390–98), his first discussion is either forgotten or intentionally replaced by totally different results, according to which Ramses is represented as in camp at Shabtuna, far south of Kadesh, when the battle took place, while his troops have already left for the north.[11] Yet the sources several times state that Ramses had arrived on the northwest or north of Kadesh,[12] and that he had camped there before the battle (Nos. 1, 2, 13, 14);[13] the relief of the battle is accompanied by an inscription beginning: "The stand which his majesty made, while he was camping on the northwest of Kadesh" (No. 16); and one of the divisions, that of Re, which, according to Maspero, had left the king for the north, fled, when attacked, "northward to the place where his majesty was" (No. 25). How troops, which had already marched off to the north from the king's camp, could then flee northward to the king, does not appear. Thus this study puts Ramses south of Kadesh, while the sources clearly place him on the north of Kadesh; it puts his army on the north, viz., in front of him, while the sources unequivocally place it on the south of, viz., behind him. In short, Maspero's presentation completely reverses the order of forces as well as of events presented by the sources and formerly by himself also. The error to which this confusion is due was pointed out and corrected by Chabas nearly fifty years ago (see above).[14]

There is a good deal of misunderstanding regarding these sources, and it will be necessary, therefore, to offer a brief statement of them here. They are threefold: (1) The familiar so-called POEM, so long known as the "Poem of Pentaur," until Erman showed that Pentaur (*Pn-t'-Wr-t*) was only the copyist and not the author of the com-

[10] This is the title of the second volume of the last edition of his *Histoire* in the English edition.

[11] This can only be due to the exclusive use of the Abu Simbel version of the "Record," in which the ancient scribe has carelessly overlooked and omitted several passages (see *infra*, p. 7, n. 21). One of these passages *contained the march from Shabtuna to Kadesh!*

[12] This is recognized by MASPERO, in his first treatment (*Histoire*, 1875, p. 221), for he says the attack of the Asiatics was made "tandis que le roi (Ramses) était déjà au nord de la ville."

[13] The hieroglyphic passages quoted herein are all translated and numbered, and they will be cited by number.

[14] There have been many other modern accounts of the battle, but they have no independent value.

position (*Neuaeg. Gram.*, p. 7); we shall refer to the document as the Poem. (2) A brief RECORD[15] of the campaign, engraved over the temple-reliefs, which depict its chief events; we shall refer to it as the Record. (3) The TEMPLE-RELIEFS depicting the campaign, together with the accompanying short explanatory inscriptions.

1. Of the three the most valuable is the POEM, which fortunately for us is, for the first twenty-five lines, a sober and careful prose account of Ramses's departure from Egypt, his march to Kadesh and the position of his four divisions up to the moment of the Asiatic attack. The entire so-called Poem does not differ in form from the Record and is not, in the opinion of the present writer, essentially different from the accounts of their victories left by other Pharaohs, such as those of Merneptah and Ramses III., all of which, like the Poem,[16] show no poetic form, but in style are poetic, florid, and highly colored — a style which may be traced in similar prose reports of victories as far back as the twelfth dynasty. It has survived in two forms; HIEROGLYPHIC and HIERATIC. The texts of the *hieroglyphic* form are said by Brugsch[17] to be found in the Ramesseum twice, in Luxor, in Abu Simbel, and Bet el-Walli. Maspero also says: "This Epic reappears everywhere in Nubia and in the Sâîd, at Abu Simbel, at Beit Wally, at Derr, at Luxor, at Karnak."[18] It is, however, not found at all in Nubia, nor at the Ramesseum, but has survived in three copies: on the temple walls at Luxor, Karnak and Abydos;[19] while of the *hieratic*[20] text but one manuscript is known, a roll which is now in two parts: Papyrus Raifet (Louvre), the beginning; and Papyrus Sallier III (British Museum), the remainder. As J. de Rougé's composite text omits all reference to the Abydos copy, I arranged *all* the texts, both hieroglyphic and hieratic, in parallel columns, and the whole was then exhaustively collated with the

[15] Called by de Rougé the *Bulletin*.

[16] MASPERO's statement (*Struggle*, p. 395) that it is "a poem in rhymed strophes," is totally without foundation.

[17] *Geogr. Inschr.*, II, 23.

[18] *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 421.

[19] 1. The LUXOR copy occupies the lower portion of the front (north side) of both towers of Ramses II.'s pylon. There is no second copy on the *south* side of the pylons at Luxor, as stated by J. DE ROUGÉ (*Rev. ég.*, III, 150). The inscription was partially cleared by Mariette, which permitted E. de Rougé to copy all but "la fin des dernières lignes" (*loc.cit.*). It was published in his son's *Inscr. hiérogl.*, IV, 232-48; in BRUGSCH, *Rec.*, II, 40-42; and in Rougé's composite text (see below). The lower ends of the lines, exposed by later excavations, were then published by *Daressy* (*Rev. ég.*, IX, 58).

2. The KARNAK copy is on the outside of the south wall of the great hypostyle hall. J. DE ROUGÉ says (*Rev. ég.*, III, 150): "Mon père, pendant sa mission en Égypte fit complétement déblayer cette muraille, ce qui permit de copier l'inscription entière." It was published in his *Inscr. hierogl.*, IV, 206-31; in BRUGSCH, *Rec.*, II, 29-32; and in MARIETTE, *Karnak*, 48-51; list of Asiatic allies also (*LD.*, Text III, 20). Both of these texts show frequent and long lacunæ; of the *Karnak* text I had good photographs by Borchardt, for which I am indebted to the Berlin dictionary. But as de Rougé filled in the débris again after making his copy, the lower ends of the vertical lines are covered in the photograph.

3. The ABYDOS copy on the walls of Ramses II.'s mortuary temple there has preserved only the lower ends of the lines, as the walls are destroyed except the last few courses. It was published by MARIETTE (*Abydos*, II, 4, 5); but I had also a collation of the original by BORCHARDT, for which I am again indebted to the Berlin dictionary. Of the above publications, BRUGSCH and MARIETTE are so incomplete as to be practically unusable; and ROUGÉ, while much better, is far from exhaustive.

[20] Papyrus Raifet contains only one page of ten lines, published by E. DE ROUGÉ (*Rec. de Trav.*, I); Papyrus Sallier III contains eleven pages, published in the *Select Papyri* (I, 24-34). All these texts, including the hieroglyphic, were once combined by E. de Rougé and published after his death by J. DE ROUGÉ (*Rev. ég.*, III-IX). Although writing in 1885, long after the publication of MARIETTE'S *Abydos*, J. de Rougé makes no mention of the Abydos text. The lower portion of the Luxor text was also inaccessible when he published. The progress of hieratic studies has been great since de Rougé's day, and this fact together with the accession of new material made the compilation of a new composite text imperative. As a long passage has been misplaced by the ancient scribe in the hieratic text, it has been necessary to number the lines from the hieroglyphic version, for which the Luxor text was found most suitable.

original of the Sallier Papyrus, now in the British Museum, by Prof. Erman. This material, which was prepared for the Berlin Dictionary I am able to use here by the kind permission of Prof. Erman. This collation of the Sallier Papyrus, the introduction of the hitherto unused Abydos text, and the lower ends at Luxor, and the collation of the Karnak photographs (see notes on texts) have filled a number of serious lacunæ and given us for the first time an almost complete text.

2. The RECORD was possibly an official report of the campaign. It is not as full as the Poem on the marches and dispositions of the two armies, but it narrates fully the inside history, which led Ramses to make his incautious advance to the north of Kadesh, furnishing an account of the earliest military ruse known in history. On this last, the Poem is discreetly silent. The Record is preserved in three copies; on the temple walls at Abu Simbel, the Ramesseum and at Luxor.[21] Many years ago the Abu Simbel and Ramesseum texts were combined and published by Chabas from the old publications, but his work seems to have been mostly overlooked. I have made my own composite text, also, for which I had photographs of Abu Simbel kindly placed at my service by Steindorff. These and the insertion of the hitherto unused Luxor copy made a text for the first time practically complete.

3. The RELIEFS furnish many vivacious incidents which enliven our impressions of the battle and some important inscriptions which we shall employ, but the different copies are so totally inconsistent with each other, that the course of the battle must be determined in independence of them, before they can be safely employed. This is due to the well-known inability of the Egyptian artist to preserve the proper ground-plan relations of the different parts of a scene, demanding a knowledge of perspective for their proper representation. And not only the actual relations of the different fields upon the ground, but also those of different moments of time are disregarded, as we shall see later on (pp. 41, 42). As far as we know, these reliefs were engraved upon the temple walls seven times by the artists of Ramses II.: Abydos, the

[21] 1. ABU SIMBEL.—In the great rock temple on the north wall of the first hall over the battle reliefs. It was published by CHAMPOLLION (*Mon.*, 27-9), by ROSELLINI (*Mon. stor.*, 100-102), and by LEPSIUS (*LD.*, III, 187*c-e*). The original itself is very careless, the scribe having omitted the lower two-thirds of l. 7 and beginning of l. 8 (Ramesseum numbering), containing the march from Shabtuna to Kadesh. Furthermore, in both Champollion's and Rosellini's copy, two entire lines (6 and 33 Abu Simbel numbering) are omitted, besides the lower ends of ll. 36-41, which were probably sanded up at that time. Lepsius's text is much better, but the photographs by Graf Grünau kindly loaned me by Steindorff, filled about all of the lacunæ in Lepsius's publication. The wall has lost some since his time.

2. RAMESSEUM.—Over the battle reliefs on the rear (west) side of the first pylon. It was published by SHARPE (*Eg. Inscr.* 2d part 52), and by LEPSIUS (*LD.*, III, 153). It is the best of all the texts, though Lepsius's copy needs some correction. The original omits some unessential phrases in l. 20.

3. LUXOR.—On the rear (south side) of Ramses II.'s pylon. J. DE ROUGÉ, who mistook it for a copy of the Poem says of it: " . . . . les constructions des fellahs cachaient, lors de notre voyage, la majeure partie de ce texte d'ailleurs en fort mauvais état: le déblaiement du temple de Louqsor entrepris par M. Maspero, permettra d'en recueillir les débris " (*Rev. ég.*, III, 150). But these modern buildings of the natives have never been removed, and we have only a copy of the visible fragments by BRUGSCH (*Rec. de mon.*, II, 53), who also mistook it for the Poem, an impression which may be understood from the fact that this Luxor text has in the place of " the land of Naharin and all Kode " (l. 11), a full list of the Asiatic allies like that in the beginning of the Poem. It also adds some poetical phrases in describing the King's valor toward the end (l. 24). A publication of this text is very much needed. A composite of the Abu Simbel and Ramesseum texts was made by CHABAS [*Rev. arch.*, XV (1858-59), 2d part, pp. 573 ff. and 701 ff.]. A combined text by GUIEYSSE (*Rec. de Trav.*, VIII, 126-131, who has overlooked the Luxor copy, is unreliable. As the Abu Simbel text is incomplete, and the Luxor text mere fragments, it is necessary to number the lines from the Ramesseum text.

Ramesseum (twice), Karnak, Luxor, Abu Simbel, and Derr.[22] Those at Abydos have almost and those at Derr completely perished.

All these sources suffer from a common defect, viz., their main object was to portray the personal prowess of the king. Only the facts which will serve this purpose are used and the movements of the army, if referred to at all, are mentioned only as they serve to lead up to and explain the isolation of the king, which necessitated his desperate attack upon the enemy. Once this supreme moment is reached, the king receives the entire attention and the army is only referred to in order to use their flight and cowardice as a foil against which to contrast the splendid courage of the king. From this point on, moreover, the Poem is the only full source, and it is from this point on that sane criticism must declare it a source to be used with the greatest caution. Further indications of the comparative value and character of the sources will be found in the course of their use, as we proceed.

The conditions which led up to Ramses II.'s great war with the Hittites have been cleared up by the discovery and study of the Amarna letters, and cannot occupy us here. The Hittites have now reached the upper course of the Orontes, in their advance southward between the Lebanons, and have collected their forces in the vicinity of Lake Ḥomṣ. Already in his fourth year Ramses had secured the Phœnician coast on his first campaign as far as the vicinity of Berut, and erected his boundary stela on the banks of the Nahr-el-Kelb. It has often been stated that this campaign was in the year 2. It is true that one of the three stelæ of Ramses II. at the Nahr-el-Kelb is published by Lepsius as dated in the year 2; but Lepsius himself states that this date is uncertain (*Briefe*, p. 403); that of the fourth year is however, certain.[23] Now there cannot have been two campaigns before that against Kadesh in the fifth year, which is called the second campaign (No. 1). Hence the uncertain date of the year 2 is to be rejected with entire certainty, in favor of the year 4. Following up his move of the year 4, Ramses now prepares to meet the Hittites themselves.

Of the size of his army we have unfortunately no direct data. The Egyptians occasionally give the exact number of men engaged in less important expeditions, like

[22] 1. ABYDOS.—On the outside of the north, west, and south walls of the temple of Ramses II. Nearly the whole has perished, as only the lower courses of the walls remain. The short inscriptions were published by MARIETTE (*Abydos*, II, pp. 10, 11), and three scenes from the reliefs (*Voy. dans la haute Égypte*, Plates XXX-XXXII and p. 72). They show fine execution and a complete publication is very much needed.

2. RAMESSEUM, FIRST PYLON.— CHAMP., *Not. Descr.*, I, 870-72; *LD.*, III, 153-5, 157-61.

3. RAMESSEUM, SECOND PYLON.—CHAMP., *Mon.*, 328-30; *Not. Descr.*, 585-9, 873, 874; ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 109, 110; *LD.*, III, 164, 165, and PRISSE, *Hist. de l'art ég.*

4. KARNAK.—Chiseled out in antiquity; published *infra*, pp. 45, 46, and Plate VIII.

5. LUXOR.—On pylon of Ramses II.; CHAMP., *Mon.*, 323, 324, 327-327 *bis* (last two incorrectly marked Ramesseum); ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 104-7; BRUGSCH, *Rec. de Mon.*, 53 (inscriptions only).

6. DERR.—Now destroyed, but seen by Champollion, *Wiedemann, Aeg. Gesch.*, 434, n. 5.

7. ABU SIMBEL.—In the great temple, first hall, north wall: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 17 *bis*-33; *Not. descr.*, I, 64-66; ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 87-103; *LD.*, III, 187*c-e*.

The inscriptions from all these copies have been combined (from the publications) by GUIEYSSE (*Rec. de Trav.*, VIII, 120-42) in a convenient form for reference, but it is not reliable. None of the above publications meets the requirements of modern science in the reproduction of the reliefs, and an exhaustive publication of the combined originals is very much needed. For the inscriptions I have placed in parallel columns all the publications of all the originals, producing a fair text; but unfortunately this method cannot be applied to the reliefs.

[23] I have examined the Berlin squeeze of this stela made by Lepsius, and find the date clear and certain.

those to the mines, or to Nubia; but never, in any surviving record of their great wars, have they left any statement of the size of the army which they put into the field. The numbers for this expedition given by Diodorus, 400,000 foot and 20,000 horse (*infra*, p. 11, n. 39), are of course absurd. The meager data bearing on the question, as furnished by contemporary documents, are the following. In the Old Kingdom (third millennium B. C.) the nobleman Una mustered an army for an expedition into Sinai and Palestine, of "many ten thousands." This vague and suspicious datum is not corroborated by subsequent records. For an expedition to Hammâmât for quarrying purposes in the eleventh dynasty (about 2100 B. C.), King Nibtowere-Montuhotep mustered an army of 10,000 men from the southern nomes,[24] and 3,000 sailors from the Delta,[25] making a total of 13,000 men, the largest body of which the exact number is furnished by the inscriptions. In the same dynasty, King Senekhkere sent to the same quarries an expedition of 3,000 men.[26] The contingent which a local baron dispatched to these quarries in the twelfth dynasty (about 2000 to 1800 B. C.) was only 200 men,[27] while another, Ameni of Benihasan, sent to the Nubian wars 400 men,[28] and as a convoy for the gold caravan to Coptos, 600 men.[29] Amenemhet III., of the same dynasty, sent out an army of 2,000 men to the Hammâmât quarries accompanied by 30 quarrymen, 30 sailors, and 20 necropolis gendarmes.[30] He likewise dispatched a force of 734 troops to the mines of Wadi Maghara in the peninsula of Sinai.[31] Of the eighteenth dynasty we have no such data, but in the nineteenth (about 1600 to 1400 B. C.), Ramses II. sent an army to Hammâmât, which was made up entirely of foreign mercenaries in the following proportions: "Shardana, 1,900; Kehek, 620; Mashawasha, 1,600; Negroes, 880; total, 5,000."[32]

In Merneptah's Libyan war of his fifth year (thirteenth century B. C.), he slew "9,376 people,"[33] and possibly took as many more prisoners. Ramses III. (twelfth

[24] *LD.*, II, 149*d* = GOL., *Ham.*, XII: the numeral is in the present writer's opinion, certain. Golénischeff's text shows a finger (= 10,000); the top points wrong, but this is a peculiarity of the Hammâmât inscriptions (*cf.* HENU, *LD.*, II, 150 *a. l. 7, thrice!*), and is only one of many instances of the influence of the hieratic in these texts. This particular peculiarity of the finger-sign occurs frequently also in the Assiut texts of the same period.

[25] *LD.*, II, 149*d* = GOL., *Ham.*, XI.

[26] *LD.*, II, 150*a* = GOL., *Ham.*, XV–XVII.

[27] GOL., *Ham.*, III, 3. They brought back a block 20 feet, 6 inches long.

[28] *Ameni* inscription (l. 12). [29] *Ibid.*, ll. 14, 15.

[30] *LD.*, II, 138*c* = GOL., *Ham.*, IX, No. 1.

[31] *LD.*, II, 137*c* = BURTON, *Exc. hier.* XII = CHAMP., *Not. descr.*, II, 689.

[32] *Pap. Anastasi*, I, Plate XVII, ll. 3, 4. The numbers are given by CHABAS (*Voyage*, p. 52) as: 1,300, 520, 1,500, and 680, making a total of 4,000, which was 1,000 short as he noticed, but thought it was an error of the scribe. MASPERO (*Struggle*, p. 212) gives the following numbers: "620 Shardana, 1,600 Kehek, 70 (*sic!*) Mashawasha, 880 Negroes." Maspero evidently assumes that the remainder (1,830) of the 5,000 were Egyptians. But there is no such remainder, and no error of the scribe. The correct numbers were read nearly forty years ago by DE ROUGÉ (*Rev. arch.*, 1867², n. s. XVI, pp. 99 ff.) who showed the incorrectness of Chabas's readings, and later by PIEHL (*ÄZ.*, 28, 33). I had read them as above, before I noticed de Rougé's essay or Piehl's note, and a glance at the papyrus will convince anyone of the correctness of their readings. Whether the scribe of Anastasi I. was relating actual facts or not does not affect the use of his data; for he was clearly dealing with customary and usual events whether the particular ones he narrates actually happened or not.

[33] Great Karnak inscription, l. 58. This is probably the total of the slain, Libyan and non-Libyan, for the corresponding number of the Extract (a short duplicate, l. 17) has before it: "fallen of Libya, total number;" the non-Libyan foreigners being thus designated as of the Libyan party. Of the actual Libyans slain we have a total of 6,359 (l. 51), and of non-Libyan foreigners at least 2,370 (l. 56). This makes a total of 8,729, omitting a few hundred non-Libyans who would doubtless bring up the total to 9,376 as given above (l. 58). But it is possible that this number refers only to captives. In this case, as the Extract gives at least 9,300 killed (l. 17), the total of killed and captured would be over 18,000! See also MÜLLER, *Asien*, 358, n. 5.

century B. C.), in a similar Libyan war (year 5), slew 12,535 of the enemy;[34] but in his second Libyan war (year 11) he slew only 2,175 and captured 2,052[35] (of whom only 1,211 were men). The same king sent an expedition to the quarries of Gebel Silsileh, consisting of 3,000 men, of whom 2,000 were soldiers;[36] but of course these were not intended for military duty, but only to assist in the work of transportation, as at El Bersheh in the middle kingdom. Ramses IV. sent an expedition to the Hammâmât quarries, of no less than 8,368 men, of whom 4,000 were soldiers.[37] Here, also, the troops were expected to aid in the transportation as well as furnish protection to the expedition. The only other contemporary sources are the Amarna letters, in which the numbers of the troops mentioned are absurdly small. It is only the classic sources which contain large numbers; but the numbers of such historians as Herodotus and Diodorus (see below p. 11, n. 39) are of course not trustworthy. For the Ptolemaic period we possess no data, and the Old Testament numbers cannot be accepted.

It will be seen that the above data, while very limited, show clearly that the armies of early Egypt were not large. The armies of the invading Libyans, judging from the numbers of dead and captured, may have been larger than those of Egypt; but the maximum army of the Pharaoh, doubtless, did not exceed 25,000 or 30,000 men. Ramses II.'s army consisted of four divisions, of whom some were Shardana, who furnished heavy infantry. How large a proportion of the army they formed it is impossible to say. Nor of the native Egyptian forces are we able to determine what proportion were infantry, and what proportion chariotry. Maspero has computed the forces of the Hittites and their allies as about 20,000 men (*Struggle*, p. 212, note 5), and this total seems to me tolerably certain.[38] Ramses II. could hardly have invaded the enemy's country with less; and thus his four divisions will have contained about 5,000 men each. If he was able to send 5,000 mercenaries to Hammâmât, he certainly

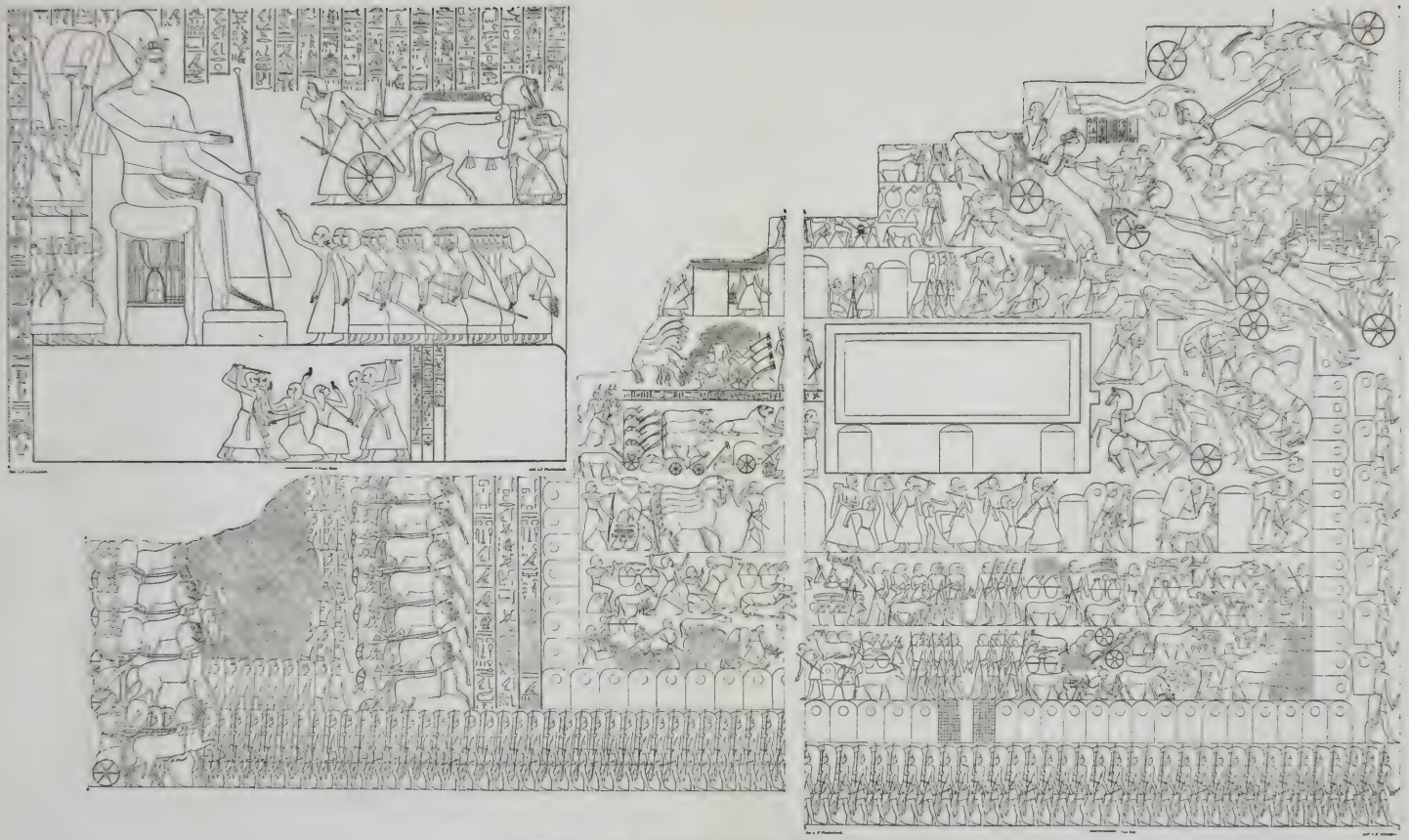
[34] The inscription is unpublished; it is on the outside of the north wall at Medinet Habu, and the number is given in BAEDEKER (p. 303, "3d scene"). The number is supported by the reliefs in the second court (south wall, CHAMP., *Mon.*, 206 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 135; see also *LD.*, Text III, 177) showing three heaps of hands and one of phalli severed from the dead. Each heap bears the inscription: "Bringing up the captured before his majesty, from the vanquished of Libya, making 1,000 men; making 3,000 hands; making 3,000 foreskins;" except that once (at the top) "Making 3,000 foreskins" is omitted (*LD.*, Text III, 177, not corroborated by the old publications, *e. g.* ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 135). Taken together they record a total of 25,000 or 28,000 men (of whom 4,000 were captured and the rest killed), which is certainly excessive, and is contradicted by the total, 12,535, given on the north wall. Hence, as the four heaps are in four superimposed rows or fields, it is evident that some are only repetitions. Taking only the heap of phalli and one heap of hands (the two lower rows), and regarding the others as repetitions, we obtain a total of 12,000 slain, which roughly agrees with that on the north wall.

[35] On the back of the first pylon at Medinet Habu (DÜM., *Hist. Inschr.*, I, 26, 27), the number 2,052 is given by the monument as the total list of prisoners. This total is correct. Maspero's numbers (*Struggle*, p. 472) are curiously in error. He gives 2,075 killed in this battle, which is an error for 2,175 as above. Then he gives 2,052 killed "in other engagements," which is an error for the prisoners as above. Finally he gives 2,032 male and female prisoners, which comes from adding together the said list of prisoners as given in CHABAS's *Étude sur l' ant. hist.* (p. 243), where Chabas has made a mistake of 20 (giving 131 girls instead of 151) and producing a total of 2,032. Maspero has thus counted the list twice: once (20 short) as prisoners; and again its real total as given by the monument, of which he makes a second total of killed. Chabas's error was also noted by BRUGSCH, *ÄZ.* (1876), pp. 71 ff.

[36] CHAMP., *Not. descr.*, I, 256, 257 = *LD.*, VI, 23, 8; PIEHL, *Sphinx*, VI, 143-5 (transcription only).

[37] *LD.*, III, 223*e*.

[38] The Hittite king first sent 2,500 chariots against Ramses. Later he sent 1,000 more, making 3,500 in all. In each chariot were three men, making a total of 10,500 chariot warriors. He had also 8,000 or 9,000 infantry, making a total of about 20,000 men. Maspero overlooks the second body of 1,000 chariots and gains his total of 20,000 by conjectural estimate. These numbers in the sources are of course not wholly trustworthy, and hence we must allow for an element of uncertainty.



Ramesseum Reliefs, First Pylon; the Camp (*LD.*, III, 153-5)

(Upper left-hand corner belongs at right end)

was able to muster 20,000 of all arms for the critical war in Syria; but the issue shows that his force could not much have exceeded that of the Asiatic allies in strength. I should estimate his force, therefore, at possibly a little over 20,000 men, and regard the estimate as very uncertain. Maspero estimates it at about 15,000 or 18,000 men (*Struggle*, p. 212, note 5).

About the end of April, in the fifth year of his reign (Poem, l. 9), Ramses II. marched out of Tharu, on his northeastern frontier, at the head of the above force, in four divisions.[39] The division of Amon under the immediate command of the Pharaoh constituted the advance, while the divisions of Re, of Ptah, and of Sutekh, followed in the order given. What route they took in Palestine is not known, but when they were in southern Lebanon they were marching on the sea road, for in the midst of later events the Poem (l. 18) reverts to the fact that "his majesty had formed the first rank (or the van) of all the leaders of his army, while they were on the shore in the land of Amor." As Meyer has noted (*Aegyptiaca*, p. 69, n. 2), the "shore of Amor" is the Mediterranean coast, which he had secured the preceding year (see p. 8), at some uncertain point in southern Lebanon, where Ramses left the sea. Somewhere in this locality a city named after the Pharaoh was reached; for the Poem (l. 11) states: "Now after many days after this [the departure from Tharu], behold his majesty was in 'Wosermare-Meriamon, the city of . . . . .'" (the conclusion being unfortunately lost). This city was evidently Ramses's base on the coast, which he had established for this purpose the year before, and it may have been at or near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, where his stela of the year before is located. At the end of the above lacuna is the word "cedars," evidently a reference to the cedars of Lebanon, through, or beside, which the army was now passing, after leaving the city on the coast. Just thirty days after leaving Tharu, Ramses was in camp on the south of Kadesh[40] (Record, ll. 1, 2; Poem, ll. 11, 12), having marched northward to that point down the valley of the Orontes (see Map I).[41]

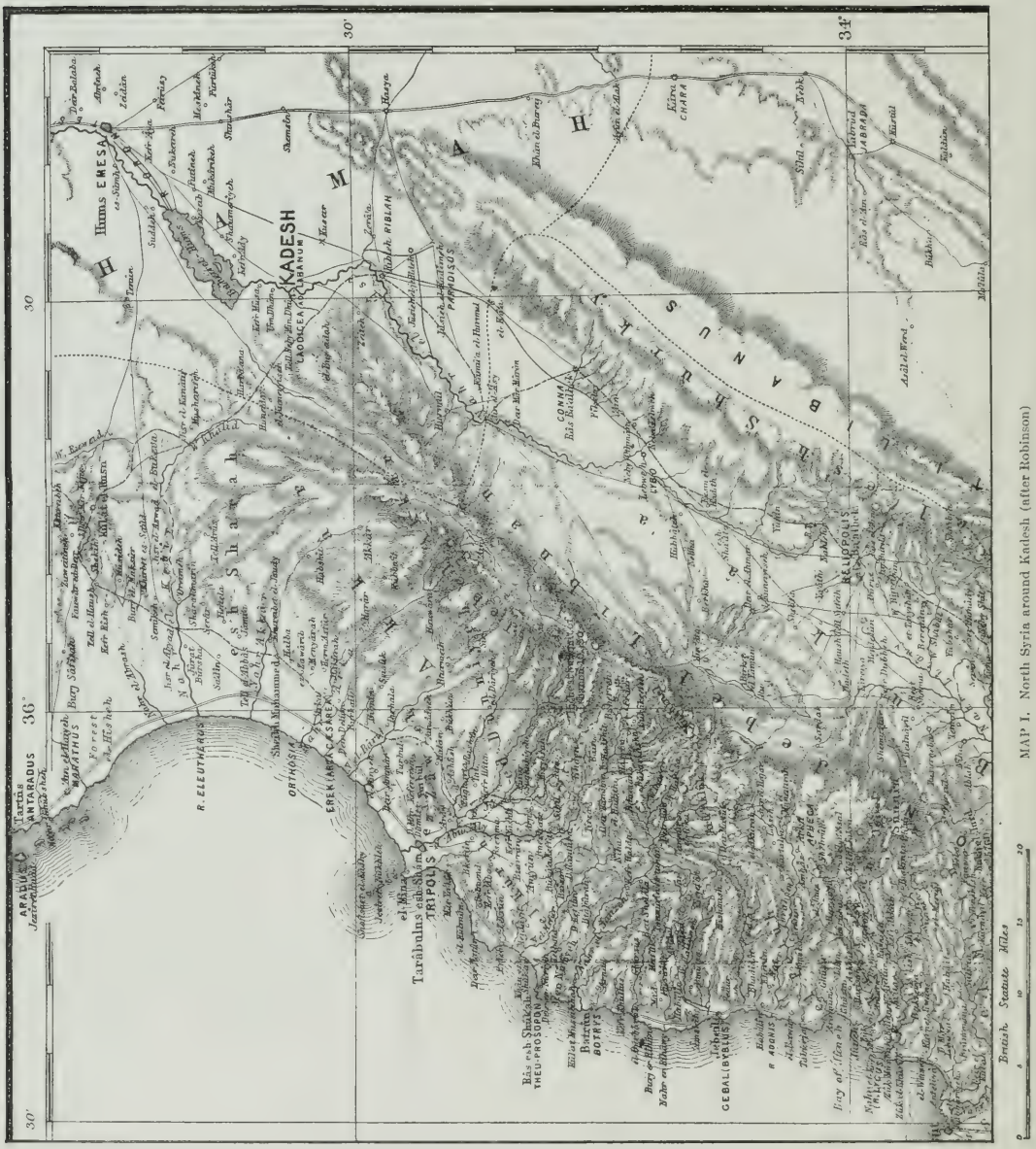
We shall not be able to follow Ramses into the battle which awaited him at Kadesh without looking into the geography of the vicinity in some detail. In such a study we are immediately confronted with the embarrassing fact that, while the geography and topography of Palestine have been very fully studied, such researches are still in their infancy in North Syria. Robinson's above map of fifty years ago, which serves well enough for the relative location of main points, is totally insufficient for the details of a limited district like that around Kadesh with which we are to deal. Sachau's map,[42] which adds much to that of Robinson, offers very little for this par-

[39] These four divisions were known to Diodorus, for he says: μετὰ δὲ τὸν πυλῶνα περίστυλον εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου ἀξιολογώτερον, ἐν ᾧ γλυφὰς ὑπάρχειν παντοίας δηλούσας τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Βάκτροις ἀποστάντας· ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεῦσθαι πεζῶν μὲν τετταράκοντα μυριάσιν, ἱππεῦσι δὲ δισμυρίοις, εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διῃρημένης τῆς πάσης στρατιᾶς, ὧν ἁπάντων υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. (I, 47; ed. VOGEL, Vol. I, p. 83 = DINDORF-MÜLLER, Vol. I, p. 40.)

[40] An average of about thirteen miles a day.

[41] This map is taken directly from ROBINSON, *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions*, London, 1856. The only change is the addition of the word "Kadesh," over that of "Laodicea ad Libanum."

[42] In his *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883.



MAP I. North Syria around Kadesh (after Robinson)

ticular region. Until Blanckenhorn's map[43] appeared in 1891, even the exact location of so well known a point as Aleppo was uncertain. But his map has done much in determining the course of the Orontes above and below Kadesh, and is therefore the chief source for our map of this locality. It is especially useful for its full indication of elevations (in meters); while for details of topography I have been dependent upon the notes of modern travelers.

In order to understand the maneuvers which preceded the battle we must now determine the relative location of the points, by means of which the Egyptian documents locate for us the positions of the two armies and their parts. These points are: (1) Kadesh; (2) "The Height South of Kadesh;" (3) Shabtuna; (4) Aranami.

1. KADESH.—When we remember that Ramses marched northward along the Orontes to reach Kadesh (Plates I, II, No. 2), and that the name was still attached to the lake of Ḥomṣ in Abulfeda's time, it is evident that we must seek the city on the Orontes in the vicinity of this lake. This has already been done by Brugsch,[44] following Julius Braun, who placed it at Ḥomṣ. As Müller has shown (*Asien*, p. 214), the city could not have been north of Emesa (Ḥomṣ). It is difficult to understand how modern students ever came to locate the city in the lake itself, for in addition to the incongruities noted by Müller (*loc. cit.*), there is not a scrap of evidence to show that the lake is older than Roman times. It is an artificial body of water six miles long and from two to three miles wide, created by a dam at its north end. Conder says: "The existence of the lake is mainly, if not altogether, due to the construction of this fine engineering work."[45] Of the age of the dam he says further: "The general impression obtained, by comparing the masonry with other monuments I have examined in Palestine, is, that the whole structure is Roman work; and the Talmudic story (*Tal. Jer. Kilaim*, LX, 5; *Tal. Bab. Baba Bathra*, 74*b*), which attributes the dam to Diocletian, may perhaps be founded on fact" (*loc. cit.*). With this testimony Robinson agrees; he states: "The lake is in great measure, if not wholly, artificial; being formed by an ancient dam or embankment across the stream."[46] Of the age of this dam Sachau says that it "hat mir den Eindruck gemacht, nicht besonders alt zu sein."[47] Besides the testimony of the Talmud cited by Conder above (which I have not verified) there are only two ancient references to the lake, and possibly only one. Abulfeda, writing early in the fourteenth century, nearly six hundred years ago, describes the lake somewhat fully, as follows:

بحيرة قدس وهى بحيرة حمص طولها من الشمال الى الجنوب نحو ثلث مرحلة
وسعتها طول السد حسبما نذكره وهى مصنوعة على نهر الارنط فانه قد صنع فى
طرف البحيرة الشمالى سد من حجر من عمارة الاوايل وينسب الى الاسكندر وعلى

[43] In *Grundzüge der Geologie und physikalischen Geographie von Nord-Syrien*, Berlin, 1891; or separate as *Karte von Nord-Syrien im Maasstabe von 1:500,000, nebst Erläuterungen, etc.*, Berlin, 1891.

[44] *Geogr. Inschr.*, II, 22.

[45] *PEF., Quart. Statement* (1881), 172.

[46] *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions*, London (1856), p. 549.

[47] *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883.

وسط السد المذكور برجان من الحجر الاسود وطول السد شرقا وَغربا الف ومايتان وسبعة وثمانون ذراعا وعرضه ثمانية عشر ذراع ونصف ذراع وهو حابس لذلك الماء العظيم بحيث لو خرب السد سال الماء وخربت البحيرة وصارت نهرا وهى فى ارض مستوية وهى عن حمص بعض يوم بغربيها ويصاد بها السمك

"THE LAKE OF QADES.—Now it is the same as the lake of Ḥomṣ; its length from north to south is about a third of a day's journey, while its width is the length of the dam which we shall presently mention. It (the lake) is artificially constructed upon the river Orontes, for there has been constructed at the north end of the lake a dam of stone, of ancient workmanship, which is attributed to Alexander (the Great). In the middle of the said dam are two towers of black stone, and the length of the dam from east to west is 1,287 cubits, while its width is 18½ cubits. This it is which holds all those mighty waters, but should it be destroyed, the water would flow away and the lake would be destroyed and would become a river. It is in a flat region, and is distant from Ḥomṣ part of a day's journey on the west side of the city. Fish are caught in it." [ABULFEDAE, *Tabula Syriae* ed. Koehler (Lipsiae, 1786), p. 157.]

He mentions the lake again in describing the course of the Orontes (*ibid.*, p. 151).

The mention of lakes and marshes in the vicinity of Laodicea ad Libanum by Polybius,[48] even if it refers to this lake, does not carry the origin of the lake appreciably farther back. Moreover, there are other small lakes and pools in this region at the present day,[49] to which his remark may refer. There is, therefore, not a shred of evidence that the lake existed in Ramses II.'s day,[50] a thousand years earlier. Finally, the only other argument that can be advanced for the location of Kadesh in the lake is the fact that in the early fourteenth century it was still called the lake of Kadesh. But it should be noticed that it was also called the lake of Ḥomṣ by Abulfeda, and Ḥomṣ lies neither *in* the lake, nor even upon it, but several miles distant from it. There is, therefore, no occasion to consider the lake at all in our study of this battle; but its name is useful as showing that Kadesh is to be sought in its vicinity.

But there is classical evidence that the city depicted in Ramses's famous reliefs was on a river. In his account of these reliefs Diodorus says[51]: *καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τοίχων τὸν βασιλέα κατεσκευάσθαι πολιορκοῦντα τεῖχος ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ περίρρυτον.* Hecataeus's Egyptian informants, whether they were acquainted with the actual city of Kadesh[52] or not, certainly regarded the city in the reliefs as located on a river. Furthermore, there is hitherto unnoticed evidence that early in the last century there was a place still bearing the name Kedes, on the south of the lake. An old map,[53] published in 1819, a portion of which is here reproduced (Map II), accompanies an

[48] . . . ἐντεῦθεν (Ἀπάμεια) δ' ἀναζεύξας ἦκε πρὸς τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, ἀφ' ἧς ποιησάμενος τὴν ὁρμὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ διελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τον αὐλῶνα τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Μαρσύαν, ὃς κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον παρωρείας, συνάγεται δ' εἰς στενὸν ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ὀρῶν. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, ᾗ στενώτατός ἐστι, διείργεσθαι τενάγεσι καὶ λίμναις, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μυρψικὸς κείρεται κάλαμος (*Historiae*, ed. HULTSCH, 5, 45, p. 71).

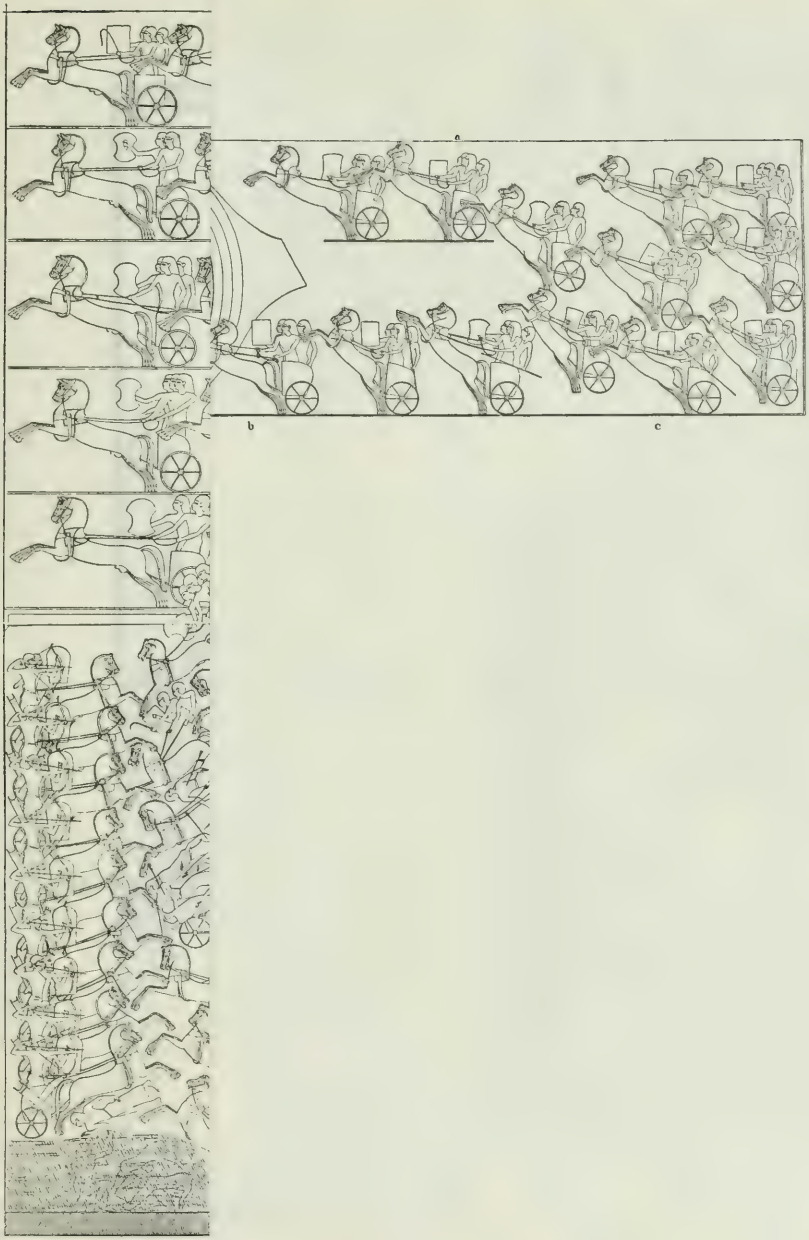
[49] See one on sketch map by VAN KASTEREN, *ZDPV.*, Vol. XVI, p. 172; others referred to by travelers in this region, *e. g.*, ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

[50] The evidence of the reliefs is distinctly against locating Kadesh in the lake (see *infra*, p. 43, n. 154), and cannot be adduced as indicating its existence in his time.

[51] I, 48 (ed. VOGEL, Vol. I, p. 83 = DINDORF-MÜLLER, Vol. I, p. 40).

[52] They call Ramses's enemies Bactrians

[53] In a collection of essays called *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, ed. ROBERT WALPOLE, London, 1820, accompanying an essay called: "Travels through Part of Antient Coelesyria and Syria Salutaris [from the papers of the Lieutenant Colonel Squire]." See also review by LETRONNE, in *Journ. des Sav.* (1820), p. 467.


a
b
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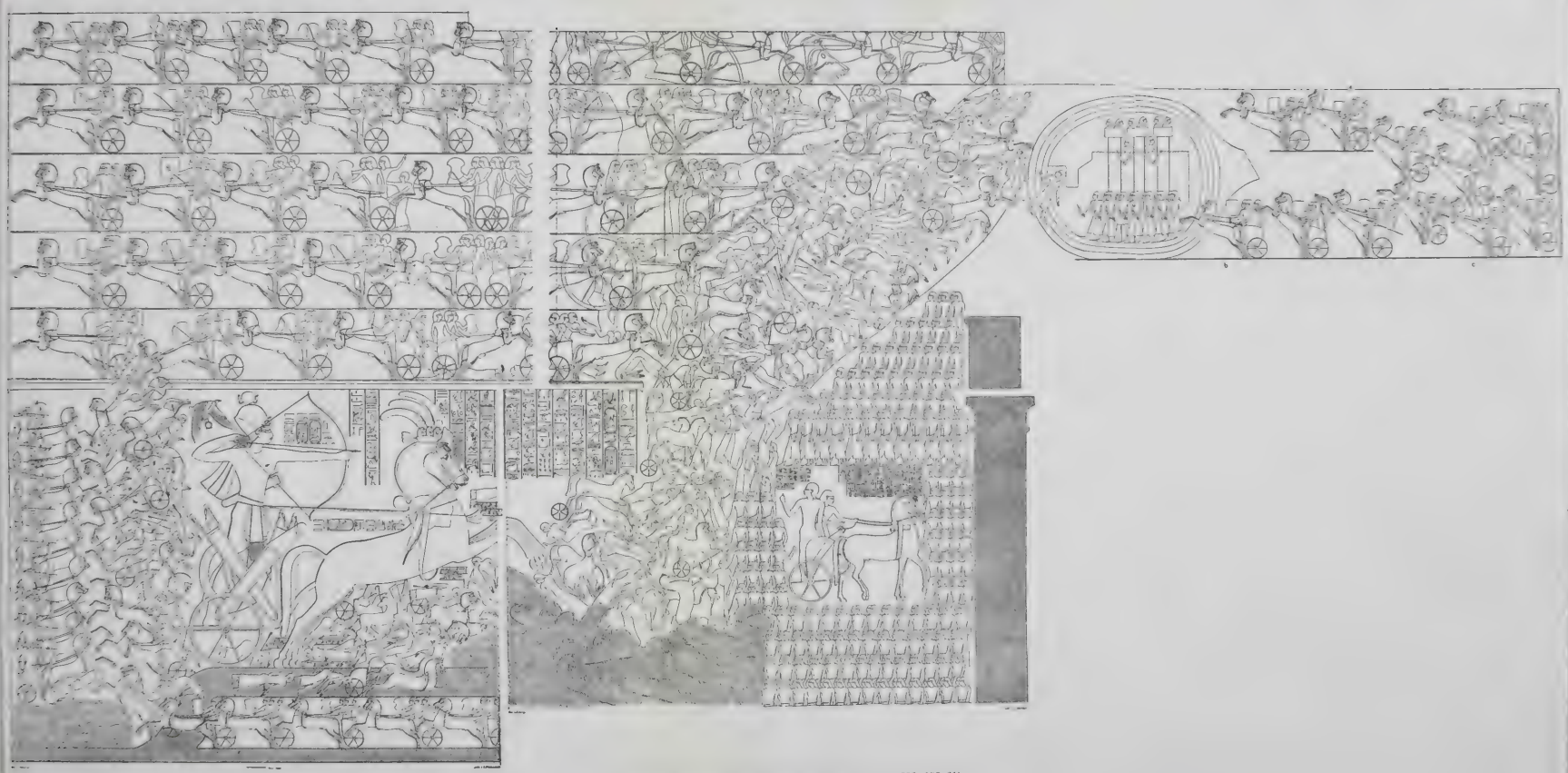


Ramesseum Reliefs, First Pylon; the Battle (*LD.*, III, 157-61)

Part of
SYRIA.
English Miles.
0 5 10 20 30 40
Longitude East 37 from Greenwich
Engraved by Sarfall, Berg, Sc. Bermondsey
MEDITERRANEAN
DAMASCUS
Hamah
Hems or Hamah
Tortosa
Tripoli
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Baalbek
Kadesh
Kadesh Nahr el Kebir
Qadis
Kaim el Hermel
Kaiyatain
Kalat
Abrikat
Hamah
Hemsin
Sedout
Cassiute
Qadis
Tyre
Sidon
Beirut
Tripoli
Tortosa
Baalbek
Damascus
Barada R.
Litani R.
Jordan R.
Nahr el Kebir
Nahr el Litani
Nahr el Asi
Nahr el Barada
Nahr el Litani
Nahr el Kebir

account of a journey down the Orontes valley by Lieutenant Colonel Squire in 1802. Squire's data have not been employed in drawing the map, for it shows amusing errors on points about which Squire's notes prove that he was fully informed. The map is therefore probably much older than Squire's time, and was the best which the editor of his papers found available. But the editor offers no hint of the source whence he obtained the map, or of the data from which it was made.[54] I am therefore unable to determine what early English or other traveler it was, who found on the south of the lake a village of "Quadis," which can be no other than قدس Ḳedes. Its location on the wrong bank a little too far south is, of course, a trifle of no moment on a map which makes the lake twenty miles long and separates its lower end from the river entirely, besides the most amusing errors in the mountain ranges. It must not be forgotten that this map was published long before the decipherment of the hieroglyphic and the resulting knowledge of the city of Kadesh, which later led scholars to look for it in this locality. Hence Conder's claim that the natives in his time commonly applied the name Ḳedes to the south side of the Tell Nebî Mendeh gains irresistible confirmation.

Conder's use of topographical data is, however, not so fortunate. It is over three thousand years since the battle which we are to study took place. The topographical changes wrought in three thousand years by a stream subject to heavy freshets in the rainy season are very considerable. These do not seem to have been at all considered by Conder, who lays the greatest importance on purely ephemeral topographical features. He seems to base his identification of Kadesh with Tell Nebî Mendeh largely on the presence of a late dam forming a pool in the Orontes on the east side of the tell; and a small earthen aqueduct, forming with the brook El-Muaḳdiyeh, a kind of double moat on the west of the tell. Certainly such things as these, which might be swept away by a freshet any day, offer no substantial basis for the topography of the place over three thousand years ago. Moreover, when Conder visited this region, he was supplied with totally inadequate data from the inscriptions; it was therefore impossible for him to consider all the requirements of the sources, and he was naturally quite unaware at the time how insufficient were the data furnished him. But Conder's notes on the place are fuller than those of any earlier visitor there; they furnish some exceedingly useful observations; and, as we shall see by the observation of more permanent topographical features than small and ephemeral earthen aqueducts, that the city must have been located in this immediate vicinity, the presence of the name Ḳedes, and the importance and unrivaled extent of Tell Nebî Mendeh make Conder's identification very probable.

In modern times the place was first visited by Mr. Thomson, who touched it in a journey from Hamah to Ribleh in 1846. In Robinson's book,[55] he describes it as follows:

[54] Someone better informed on the history of the geography of North Syria than the present writer may know the exact source of this map.

[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 555.

The Tell is on the tongue of land between the Orontes and its tributary, el-Mukadîyeh, above the junction. A ditch drawn from one stream to the other made the Tell an island. Around the southern base of this large Tell are spread the remains of an extensive ancient city. They consist of numerous columns, foundations, and small portions of the original wall; the rubble work of which was Roman brick. Mr. Thomson says: "I found the people of the Tell breaking up the columns to burn into lime; and as, in this trap region, limestone is scarce, this process of destruction may have been going on for a thousand years; and the wonder is that such a number of columns have escaped their barbarous sledges."[56]

Robinson himself states that Tell Nebî Mendeh ("Tell Neby Mindau") is located "on the left bank of Orontes, somewhat more than two hours[57] north of Ribleh," and distant one hour[58] from the lake of Kades.[59] He adds that it was so high as to be visible from Ribleh, and as he journeyed from Ribleh northwest to Ḳal'at el-Ḥosn, it was visible for several hours. Sachau says of it:

Dieser Hügel, der sich nicht weit vom Südende des Sees in fruchtbarster Umgebung erhebt und die ganze Orontes-Ebene weithin beherrscht, ist von ziemlich bedeutendem Umfang, und konnte eine für die Verhältnisse des Alterthums bedeutende Stadt tragen. Ringsum unseren Lagerplatz war die Erde mit Steinblöcken aller Art bedeckt und Substructionen von Haüsern deutlich zu erkennen. In dem Dorfe selbst sollen auch antike Baureste vorhanden sein, besonders auf dem Friedhof, auf der Nordseite des Hügels.[60]

Conder also remarks on the tell as "remarkably conspicuous from all sides,"[61] and describes it as

a great mound without any trace of rock—so far as we could see—extending about 400 yards in a direction about 40° east of true north. The highest part is on the northeast, where is a Moslem graveyard looking down on gardens in the flat tongue between the two streams.[62] The height is here perhaps 100 feet above the water. On the southwest the mound sinks gradually into the plough land. The village is situated about the middle of the Tell. . . . . On the southwest is the Tahunet Kades, a modern mill. . . . . The principal ruins are on the flat ground east of the mill.

These evidently later ruins, which were also noticed by Sachau above, the unparalleled size of the mound, and the agreement of its location with the itineraries, led Robinson to identify it with Laodicea ad Libanum.[63] Robinson says that in searching for Laodicea in this region he could find no mound "deserving any attention, except the high mound known as Tell Neby Mendeh."

It will be evident therefore that Tell Nebî Mendeh is the most prominent and important mound in this region, where the survival of the name قدس forces us to locate Kadesh. Let us now see how this location is related with the data furnished

[56] *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1848), p. 691.

[57] He gives it exactly as two hours and fifteen minutes; Sachau made it in two hours and twenty minutes (*op. cit.*, p. 58). On his map, Robinson gives an hour in his notes as three miles.

[58] Sachau made it in one hour and five minutes. Conder gives "about four English miles" (*op. cit.*, p. 165).

[59] *Op. cit.*, p. 555 and n. 1.

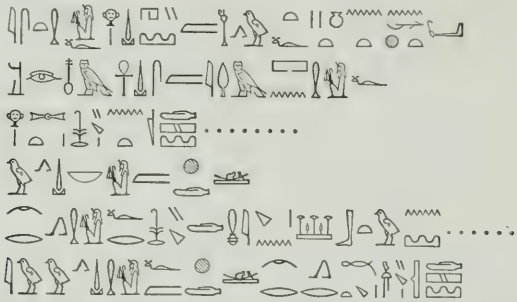
[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59.

[61] *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

[62] Orontes and el-Muḳadiyeh.

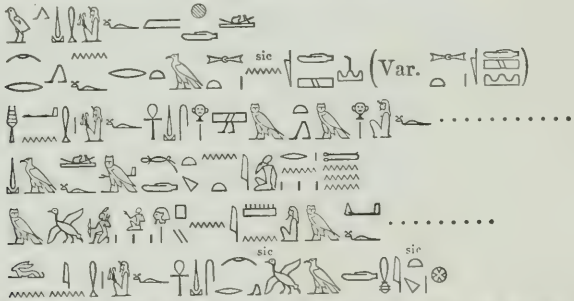
[63] *Op. cit.*, pp. 555, 556; but see also VAN KASTEREN (*ZDPV.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 171 ff.), who suggests Liftâya as possibly the site of this Laodicea. However, the location of this city has no bearing on our study of Kadesh, further than to show the importance of Tell Nebî Mendeh in Robinson's estimation.

by the accounts of Ramses II.'s campaign against the city. Ramses states that his last camping place before reaching Kadesh was "on the height south of Kadesh." His statement is as follows:

1. 

Behold his majesty was in Zahi[64] on his second victorious campaign; the goodly watch (camp), in life, prosperity, and health, in the tent of his majesty, was on the height south of Kadesh. . . . . The king proceeded northward; his majesty arrived on the south of the city of Shabtuna. . . . . His majesty proceeded northward and arrived on the northwest of Kadesh. (Record, ll. 1–8, with omissions.)

This same march is stated in the Poem as follows:

2. 

His majesty proceeded northward and he arrived at the height of Kadesh. Then his majesty, L. P. H.,[65] marched before. . . . . He crossed the ford[66] of the Orontes, having the first division of Amon with him. . . . . Then his majesty, L. P. H., arrived [at] the city (Kadesh)." (Poem, l. 12, with omissions.)

[64] Western Syria within the north and south limits of Phœnicia.

[65] Common abbreviation of the abbreviated hieroglyphic writing of the wish following the mention of the king, viz.: "Life! prosperity! health!"

[66] *Mśd-t;* it may possibly mean "channel, river-bed." It is used by Amenhotep II. of the same river (Karnak stela, l. 4). Although all the publications of this stela have *y'-r'-s'-t*, Brugsch read "Arinath;" hence the wavy-lined *n*, which is straight in hieratic, has been transferred to the stone straight, and read as an *s* by all copyists but Brugsch. There is no question, therefore, as to the correctness of the reading *n* first made by Maspero. Geographically also the reading is convincing. From a northern Palestinian city the king marches northward to

It will be seen that he is advancing northward along the Orontes through the Buḳâ'a. On the way he camps upon "the height south of Kadesh." This is, we repeat, his last camp before reaching Kadesh. We can, therefore, determine roughly the distance from the "height" to Kadesh; for on leaving the said "height" he makes the march to Kadesh and fights the famous battle in one day. But as it is evident that this day's march was a very rapid one on the Pharaoh's part (see p. 26), so that his army was unable to keep up with him, and as it is further evident that the battle was a short one, the distance from the "height" to Kadesh must have been at least a day's march. Fifteen miles make a good day's march for an army in the Orient; twelve or thirteen miles are a fair average.[67] A glance at Map I, and the data of travelers which we shall presently adduce, show that the high valley between the Lebanons, called the Buḳâ'a, drops gradually as it approaches Ribleh from the south and ceases entirely at that point. It can only be the northern terminal heights of the Buḳâ'a, which Ramses means by "the height south of Kadesh." Indeed, it is pretty evident that he has in mind a particular summit. Looking at Map III[68] we see that the Orontes flows through a narrow rocky gorge several hundred feet deep till it reaches Ribleh, where the rock walls, after gradual depression, drop entirely. On either side of these high walls, the heights rise to much greater elevations. On the east side, where Ramses was marching when he made his last camp, there is a noticeable elevation, called from a monument on its summit, Ḳamû'at el-Harmel. This summit is 733 meters above sea-level, about 600 feet above the river at the neighboring "Red Bridge" (Jisr el-Aḥmar) and some 780 feet above the level of the lake of Ḥomṣ. To the eye of the traveler who has left it behind him as he passes northward, it forms the last and a very conspicuous elevation at the northern end of the Buḳâ'a. Robinson calls it "a high mound projecting far out into the great valley from the west, and it[69] is thus seen for a great distance in every direction."[70] Conder says of it: "The Ḳamû'a ('Monument') is perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, standing on the summit of swelling downs of black basalt, with a view extending northwards in the vicinity of Ḥomṣ, and southward in fine weather to Hermon."[71]

Lebanon; this course continued would bring him to the Orontes. The objections of BISSING (*Stat. Taf.*, 34) seem to me groundless. PETRIE's identification with Harosheth on the Kishon (*History*, II, 155) is impossible, for the king is already in the Lebanon and has left the Kishon far behind.

[67] Ramses II.'s army up to this point had marched about thirteen miles a day (*infra*, p. 11, n. 40). Thutmose III.'s army on his first campaign marched from Tharu to Gaza, about 125 miles, in nine days (LD., III, 31*b* = BRUGSCH., *Thes.*, V, 1153 f., ll. 7-14), or nearly fourteen miles a day.

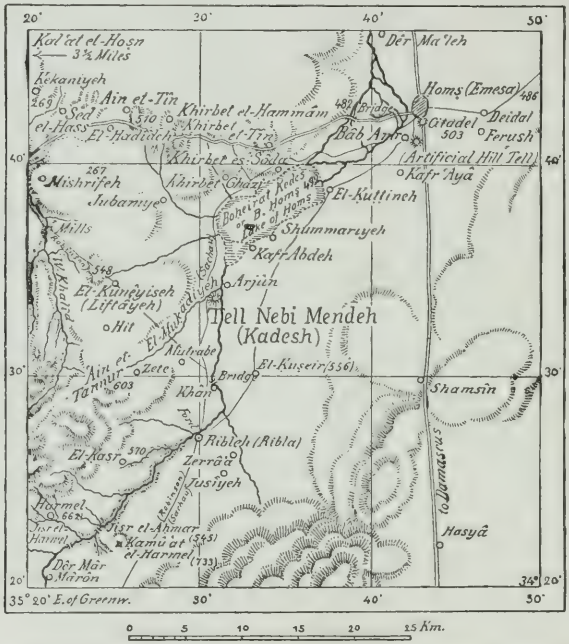
[68] This map was drawn from data taken chiefly from BLANCKENHORN's map, modified by data from other travelers in the vicinity. Blanckenhorn follows Sachau in placing a village called el Ḥôz in the tongue of land between Orontes and the brook el-Muḳadiyeh, with Tell Nebî Mendeh to the southwest of it and not on Orontes. Blanckenhorn did not visit the place himself, but passed northwestward from Ribleh to Ḳal'at el-Ḥosn. Neither did Sachau ascend the tell, but passed it on the west. The universal testimony of those who have visited and examined the tell, as I have above shown, is that it lies in the extreme angle between the two streams. Blanckenhorn also places the junction of the two streams much nearer the lake than the data of travelers there warrant. This is evidently due to the fact that the shores of the lake are variable according to season and the height of the water. The bay into which he represents the river as flowing doubtless disappears at low water, in accordance with other maps, as I have indicated by a dotted line across it. Blanckenhorn omits the island in the lake. I have inserted it according to the other maps, but its exact location is unknown. CONDER says it is about three-fourths of a mile from the shore and perhaps one-fourth of a mile long (*op. cit.*, p. 171). The figures in Blanckenhorn's map denote elevations in meters.

[69] The monument on its summit.

[70] *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

[71] *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

Again, in describing the view from the summit of Tell Nebî Mendeh he says: "On the south the plain of the Buḳâ'a is visible, stretching between the Lebanon and Antilebanon, as far as the ridge or shed on which the Ḳamû'a stands up against the sky line." [72] The hill of the Ḳamû'a, therefore, is the most prominent height at the northern termination of the high plain of the Buḳâ'a; from this point northward the



MAP III. The Orontes Valley in the Vicinity of Kadesh, 1:500,000 (after Blackenhorn)

country grows lower and lower till on reaching Ribleh, says Robinson, "a vast plain stretches off in every direction, except the southwest." [73] He further remarks in going from Ḳamû'a to Ribleh: "The hills gradually disappeared, and the country grew continually lower as we advanced." [74] The hill of the Ḳamû'a, therefore, as the first prominent height on the east of Orontes, south of Lake Ḥomṣ, is certainly Ramses's "height south of Kadesh." I think it will be clear that we have here gained a fixed point in our topography from which we may work with certainty. Kadesh must now be sought a fair day's march to the north of the Ḳamû'a. The lake,

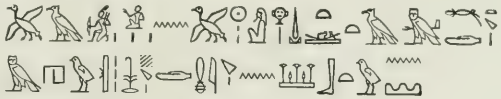
[72] *Op. cit.*, p. 166. [73] *Op. cit.*, p. 543. [74] *Op. cit.*, pp. 542, 543.

which is eighteen miles away, is decidedly too far; but the Tell Nebî Mendeh, which is about fifteen miles from the Ḳamû'a, very strikingly meets the requirements of distance involved in our problem. We shall further see in the study of the other places mentioned, how admirably the place fulfils all other conditions.

Kadesh thus occupied a most important position. It commanded the entrance to the Buḳâ'a on the south (Map I), and every army advancing southward in inner Syria would have to reckon with it. Being at the northern terminus of both Lebanons it commanded also the road from the interior to the sea, through the valley of the Eleutheros, as well as the road from the Buḳâ'a, westward around the northern end of Lebanon, to the sea. It was therefore located at perhaps the most important "cross-roads" in Syria. We shall understand therefore why every Pharaoh made it an objective point. It consumed eight years of campaigning before Thutmose III. had mastered it, and it later formed the center of an alliance against him, after his nearly twenty years of warfare in Syria—an alliance which he only conquered by the capture of the city, after a serious siege. The Hittites and their allies, when they had pushed southward from Asia Minor at the close of the eighteenth dynasty, naturally took possession of it as an advanced post of the greatest strength, and when Ramses II. advanced upon it in his fifth year, they were ready to stake all on a battle for its possession.

2. "THE HEIGHT SOUTH OF KADESH."—The location of this point was involved in the discussion of the location of Kadesh, and settled above as the hill of the Ḳamû'at el-Harmel.

3. SHABTUNA.—The location of this town at Ḳal'at el-Ḥosn by Conder[75] (following the Frenchman, Blanche), is so totally at variance with the data from the inscriptions, as will be presently apparent, that we need not discuss it at all. An examination of Extracts 1 and 2, quoted above, will make it clear that Shabtuna must lie between "the height south of Kadesh" and Kadesh, for on the march from the "height" to Kadesh, he passes Shabtuna. Moreover, it was either very close to or on the river, for in the Poem we find the following:

3. 

Var.

The division of Re crossed the ford (Orontes) on the south side (variant on the west) of Shabtuna (Poem, l. 17).

The road leading down the Orontes valley out of the Buḳâ'a on the east side of the river, and sweeping westward around the northern end of Lebanon by Ḳal'at el-Ḥosn to the sea, crosses the Orontes to the west side at Ribleh. There is every

[75] *Op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff.

reason why an army marching northward from the Ḳamû'a should not cross to the west side before reaching Ribleh. The rock-walled gorge of the Orontes, several hundred feet deep, is practically impassable for chariots above Ribleh. Once over, there is no road on the other side leading down river, for the river flows close under the precipitous shelves of the eastern slope of Lebanon. Several tributaries to the Orontes on the west side, between Jisr el-Aḥmar and Ribleh, also obstruct the way (see Map III). It is evident, also, that to go beyond Ribleh is to make an unnecessary detour to the east around the eastern end of a great bend of the Orontes (Map III), involving also the crossing of a considerable tributary at the apex of the bend. This bend can be cut off by crossing at Ribleh, and all travelers going directly north (not to Ḥomṣ) or to Ḳal'at el-Ḥosn, or to the sea, cross the Orontes at this point, as did Robinson, Sachau, Conder, and Blanckenhorn. Robinson says that the surface of the ground here is "only six or seven feet above the water." He adds:

> The course of the river was here from west to east, apparently a long reach; but it soon swept round to the north, in which direction it continues in a winding course. Ribleh is situated at the elbow. . . . . Our tent stood near the ford of the river. The bottom is hard; and such is said to be the case throughout the region. The water at this time [June 11] hardly came up to the horses' bellies.[76] There was much crossing in both directions; horses and donkeys, old and young, many of them loaded; men and women wading through, the latter often with bundles on their heads; all going to make up a lively scene.[77]

Robinson's description[78] shows that the ford was just above Ribleh, that is, *west* of it. One of our inscriptions says that the crossing was *west* of Shabtuna, and the other says *south* of it. To an Egyptian whose term for "south" is "up river,"[79] a ford which is above a town on the northward-flowing Orontes would naturally be called "south" of it; while a more accurate scribe would correctly say "west," in this particular reach of the river. There can be no doubt but that Shabtuna is to be located at Ribleh,[80] and we have thus gained the earlier name of a place well known in later Palestinian and Syrian history. It was a strategically important crossing of the Orontes,[81] and it became the headquarters successively of Necho in 608, and of Nebuchadnezzar twenty years later.

4. ARANAMI.—The location of this town is thus indicated in the inscriptions. In an enumeration of Ramses's forces from front to rear, that is, from north to south, we find that just after two divisions of the army have crossed the Orontes at Shabtuna, the division of Ptah is south of Aranami.

[76] SACHAU, who crossed here on October 23, says: "Wir ritten durch den 30–40 Fuss breiten, nicht sehr tiefen, Orontes" (*op. cit.*, p. 57).

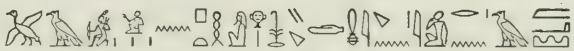
[77] *Op. cit.*, p. 543.

[78] He does not state this in so many words, but says that Ribleh was at the elbow where the river turned northward, while in front of his tent it flowed from west to east. His tent was therefore *above* Ribleh. As he adds that the tent was "near the ford," the ford also is above Ribleh.

[79] On the Tombos stela, as is well known, the Egyptian scribe speaks of the Euphrates as flowing "up river" (viz., southward).

[80] MASPERO's location of Shabtuna (*Struggle of the Nations*, p. 390, n. 3) "a little to the southwest of Tell Neby Mindeh," is impossible, for in that case the Egyptians could not have crossed the Orontes on the west of Shabtuna, as stated in the Poem (l. 17, Extract No. 3, above).

[81] See ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

4. 

Var.

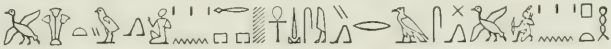
The division of Ptah was on the south of the town of Aranami[82] (Poem, ll. 17, 18).

Later, when the battle began, Ramses hastily summoned this division, as stated by the Record thus:

5.

Then one gave orders to the vizier[83] to hasten the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna (Record, ll. 18, 19).

This refers to the division of Ptah as is shown by the following note in a relief:

6. 

The scout of Pharaoh, L. P. H., coming to hasten the division of Ptah (Abu Simbel Relief, Champ., *Mon.* 18 = Rosell., *Mon. stor.*, 95).

On their way northward, after leaving the hill of the Ḳamû'a and before reaching Shabtuna, they passed or were south of Aranami, which must therefore lie on the line of march between the hill of the Ḳamû'a and Shabtuna. Just where, it is impossible to determine, but there is a hint in the variant of Extract No. 4 above, where instead of "south of Aranami" we have "opposite [them?]," probably meaning the division which crossed the river before them (the division of Ptah). In that case Aranami will not have been very far south of the ford; otherwise the troops south of Aranami would have been too far west to be "opposite" their comrades who have just crossed. But this is uncertain.

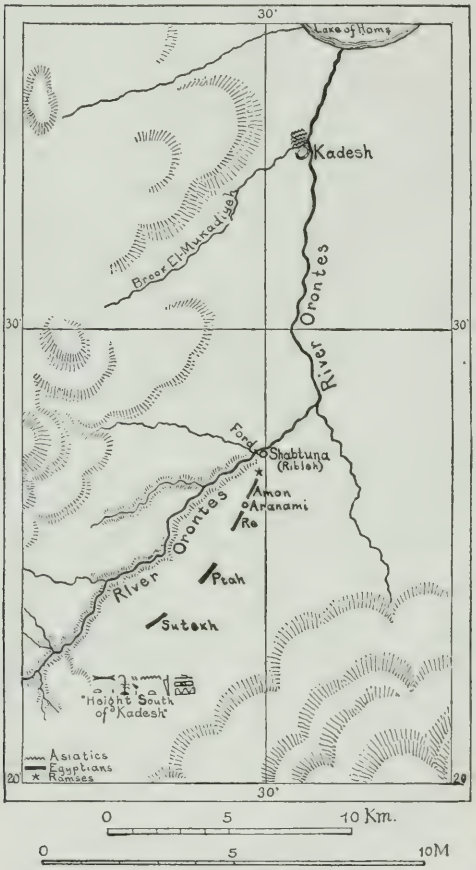
In addition to the location of these points, we must call attention to the local conditions. We have already seen in Robinson's remarks (p. 20) that the level plain begins at Ribleh and extends northward from it. After leaving Ribleh by the above described ford, and going northward till he struck the Orontes again (I suppose near the bridge, Map III), Robinson says: "The plain was a dead level; the soil hard and gravelly, and fertile only in the vicinity of the canals led through it from the river, of which we passed several."[84] The plain around Kadesh therefore was the best possible place for a battle of chariotry such as we are to study. Moreover, a reference in Extract No. 18 (p. 29 below) shows that there was a forest between Shabtuna and Kadesh, on the west side of the river, and the skilfully masked maneuvers of the Hittite king would indicate that there must have been a good deal

[82] The variant is of no importance for this point. It will be discussed later. For the context see Extract No. 9.

[83] Read *ṯ't*; the above is a typographical error; the original has *ṯ't*.

[84] *Op. cit.*, p. 557.

of forest in the plain around Kadesh. We are now prepared to take up the successive positions of the two armies.



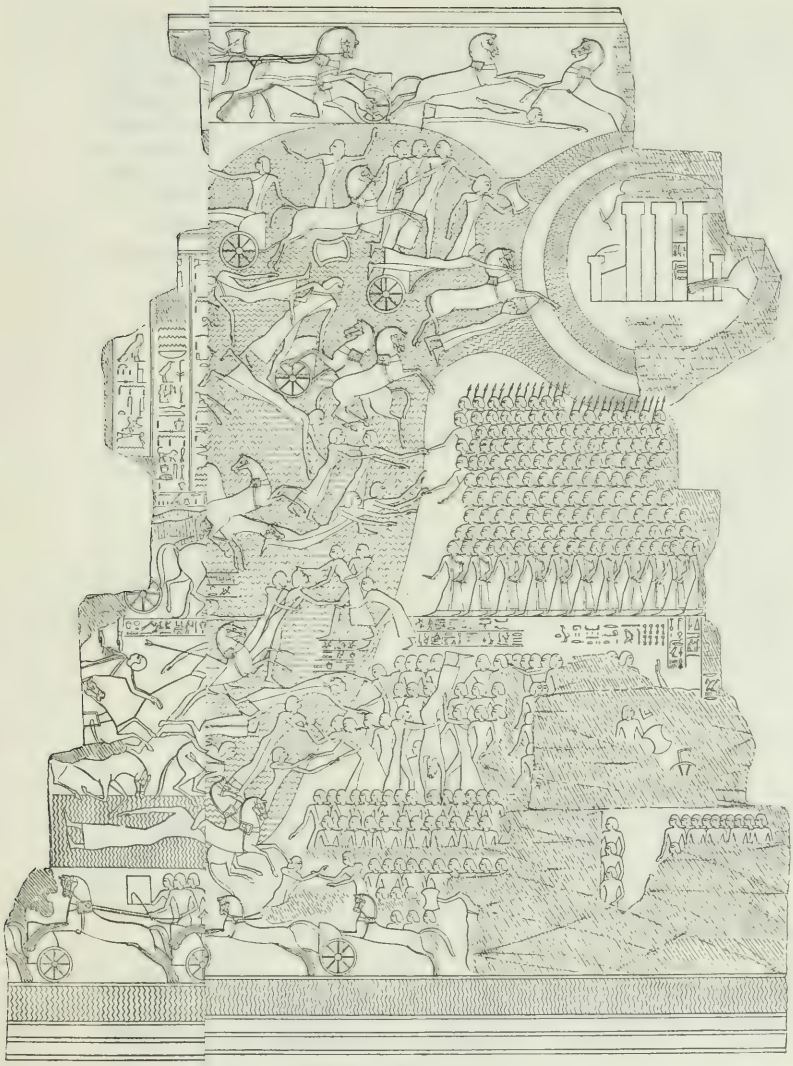
MAP IV. First Positions

FIRST POSITIONS (Map IV).—After camping on "the height south of Kadesh," Ramses marched northward on the east bank of the river. The disposition of his troops was probably not different from that which we find immediately after, in the second position (see below), that is: Ramses led the way with the division of Amon, the other divisions following at intervals. Day after day his officers had reported to him their inability to gain any knowledge of the whereabouts of the enemy, and their impression that he was still far in the north (Record, ll. 13–15). As Ramses reached the ford just above Shabtuna[85] (No. 1), he was met by two Beduin who informed him that they had been sent by their countrymen, now with the Kheta, to say that they desired to forsake the Kheta for the Egyptian cause, and that the king of the Kheta had retreated far to the north, to Aleppo, "on the north of Tunip." This incident is thus narrated:

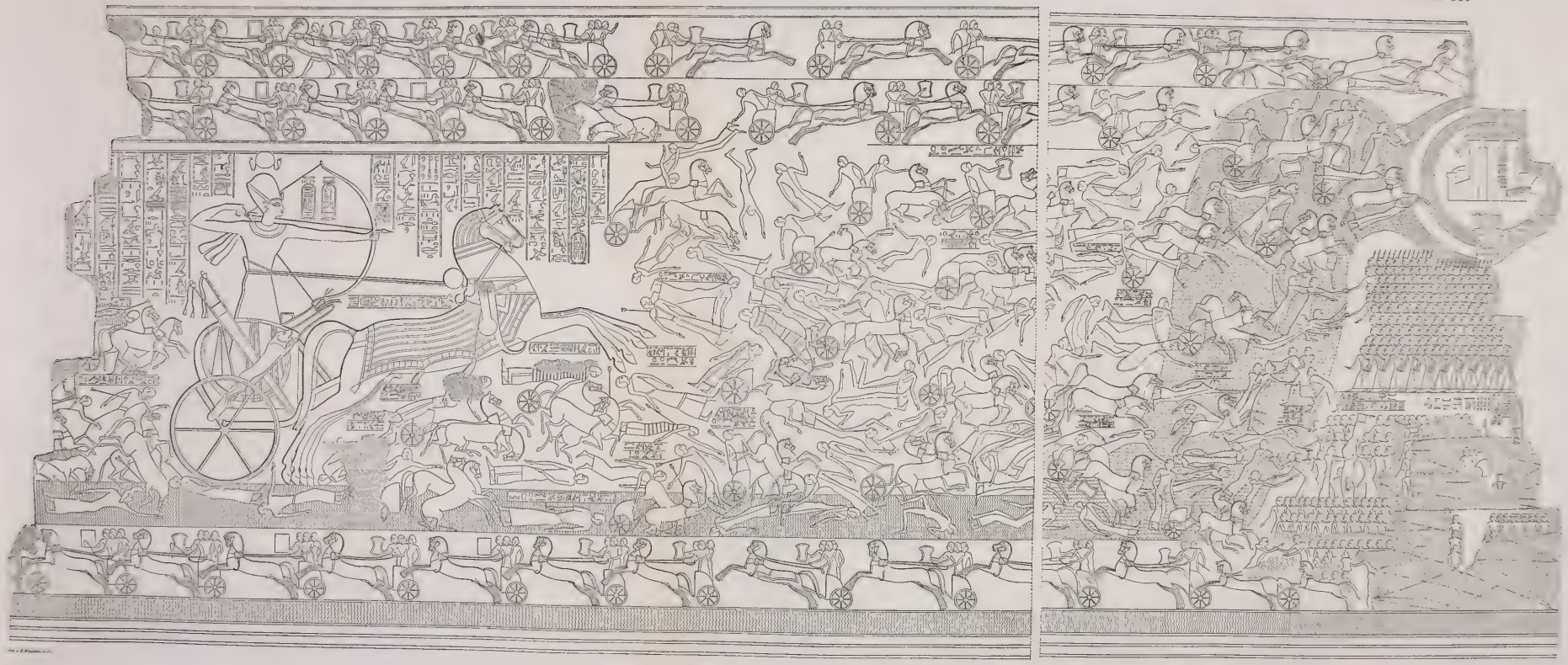
When the king proceeded northward[86] and his majesty had arrived at the locality south of the town of

[85] ROBINSON thus describes the journey from the Ḳamû'at el-Harmel to Ribleh: "We set off from the monument at 4:45 [P. M.]; taking a straight course for Ribleh across this most desert tract of low hills, ridges, and valleys. The hill on which the Ḳamû'a stands is covered with loose trap, and the same continues for much of the distance; making it very difficult for the horses to pick their way. . . . . The hills gradually disappeared, and the country grew continually lower as we advanced. The desert character of the surface also began to diminish, and thin stunted grass was occasionally seen among the tufts of furze. At 7 o'clock we descended a slope, and came at once upon the first canal led off from the 'Âsy [Orontes] on this side. . . . . We crossed one or two other like streams, not without some difficulty in finding proper fords, as it was now quite dark; and came at 7:35 to our tent, already pitched on the bank of the Orontes." (*Op. cit.*, pp. 542, 543.)

[86] From "the highland south of Kadesh."



Geo. E. Weidenbach.



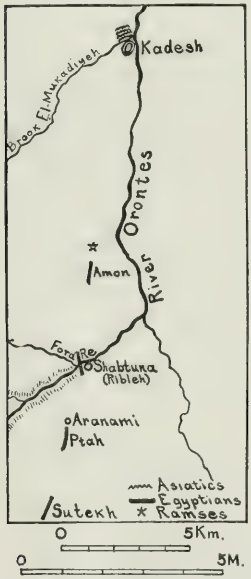
Ramesseum Reliefs, Second Pylon; the Battle (*LD.*, III, 164, 165)

Shabtuna, there came two Beduin to speak to his majesty as follows: "Our brethren who belong to the greatest of the tribes of the vanquished chief of Kheta have made us come to his majesty to say: We will be subjects of Pharaoh, L. P. H., and we will flee from the vanquished chief of Kheta, for the vanquished chief of Kheta sits[87] in the land of Aleppo (*Ḫy-r'-bw*), on the north of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*). He fears because of Pharaoh, L. P. H., to come southward." Now these Beduin spake these words, which they spake to his majesty, falsely, (for) the vanquished chief of Kheta made them come to spy where his majesty was, in order to cause the army of his majesty not to draw up for fighting him,[88] to battle with the vanquished chief of Kheta (Record, ll. 4–6, beginning above in No. 1).

The Record now proceeds to give the real position of the Asiatics, in contrast with the false information of the two Beduin.

7.

Lo, the vanquished chief of Kheta came . . . . and stood equipped, drawn up behind Kadesh, the deceitful, while his majesty knew it not (Record, ll. 6, 7).



MAP V. Second Positions

"Behind Kadesh" is, of course, with reference to Ramses's present position at Shabtuna; that is, the Asiatic allies are stationed somewhere north of Kadesh. Their exact position as given later was on the "northwest of Kadesh" (No. 11).

SECOND POSITIONS (Map V).—Completely misled by the failure of his scouts to find the enemy and by the false report of the Beduin, Ramses immediately sets forward for Kadesh. This is stated by the Poem (already partially quoted above, No. 2, p. 18) thus:

8.

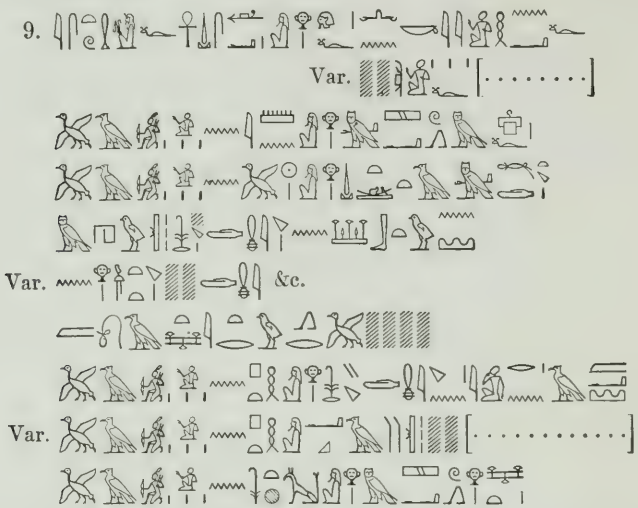
Then his majesty, L. P. H., marched before. . . . . He crossed the ford[89] of the Orontes, having the first division of Amon with him (Poem, l. 12);

[87] So Abu Simbel; Ramesseum has "is." The former omits "the land of."

[88] That is, to keep the Egyptians in marching order, that he might attack them in this unprepared state, as he afterward succeeded in doing.

[89] This can only be the ford at Shabtuna, mentioned below, for the crossing happened just after Ramses was on the south of Shabtuna.

then follows the position of the Asiatics as below, No. 10; and then that of Ramses's southern divisions, thus:



Lo, his majesty was alone by himself, without another with him (Var.: [without] his followers): the division of Amon was marching behind him; the division of Re was crossing over the ford on the south (Var. west) side of the town of Shabtuna at the distance of an iter[90] from the [division of Amon?];[91] the division of Ptah was on the south of the town of Aranami (Var. opposite [them?]); the division of Sutekh was marching on the road (Poem, ll. 17, 18).

It will be seen that Ramses is pushing rapidly forward. Even the division of Amon can no longer keep pace with him, and he is accompanied only by his personal attendants.[92] The other divisions are already far outdistanced; there is a gap of about a mile and a half between the division of Amon and that of Ptah, while the rear of the column, the division of Sutekh, is straggling so far behind that the author of the document, not knowing where it was, can only say it was marching somewhere "on the road."

Meantime the position of the enemy has not essentially changed, and is given by

[90] A variable measure of distance, which does not exceed 1¾ miles.

[91] The article is masculine, as it should be, and the only masculine noun in the context is the one suggested in the restoration. The distance from the division of Amon is what would be expected, for no town would take the article, and the river is out of the question, as the division of Re is just crossing it. Its own position is, therefore, exactly indicated by the crossing alone, and the only uncertain distance which the scribe might naturally add, is that from the division of Amon. The restoration is, therefore, exceedingly probable, if not altogether certain.

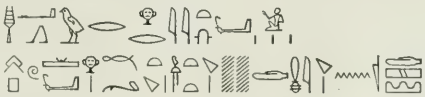
[92] The phrase: "alone by himself, without another with him" is a constant refrain in the documents on the battle. As will later be seen, it must be taken with considerable reserve.

the Poem with greater exactness than before. Following the statement of Ramses's crossing of the Orontes (No. 8) it says:

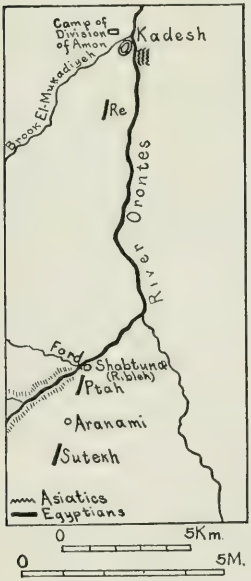
10.

Lo, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta came[93] (Poem, l. 13).

Enumeration of his allies follows; then:

11. 

and stood drawn up for battle, concealed on the northwest of the city of Kadesh[94] (Poem, ll. 16, 17).



MAP VI. Third Positions

THIRD POSITIONS (Map VI).—Ramses had evidently determined to reach and begin the siege of Kadesh that day, for he pushed rapidly and boldly on until he reached the city. The Poem refers by anticipation to his arrival long before the course of the narrative actually brings him there:

12.

His majesty arrived at the city (Poem, l. 12);

then follow Nos. 10 and 11. In the proper sequence of the narrative (after No. 11) it is again stated thus by the Poem:

13.

Lo, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, on the west side of the Orontes (Poem, l. 21).

The same facts are stated briefly and clearly by the Record after the incident of the spies on the south of Shabtuna and the position of the Asiatics (No. 7):

[93] This coming is here stated in connection with Ramses's arrival at Kadesh, which is mentioned by anticipation; for the narrative then goes back to the position of the Egyptians as the division of Re was crossing the river. So that it is evident that the position of the Asiatics did not change from the first position (Map IV) until Ramses reached the city.

[94] This is repeated by the Poem (l. 20), the hieroglyphic texts having "behind Kadesh," and the hieratic "on the northwest of Kadesh."

14.

His majesty proceeded northward and arrived at the northwest of Kadesh; the army of his majesty [camped?][95] there, and his majesty seated himself on a throne of gold (Record, ll. 7, 8).

Where the Poem states that Ramses "halted" on the "north of the city," the Record states that he "arrived" on the "northwest of the city" and that he "camped there," a slight discrepancy which only increases our confidence in the two sources by showing that they are independent of each other. The reliefs depict both the incidents mentioned in the last two phrases; the arrangement of the camp (Plate I) is accompanied by the words:

15.

The first division of Amon, (called) "He Gives Victory to Wosermare-Setepnere (Ramses II.), Given Life," with which Pharaoh, L. P. H., was, in the act of setting up camp[96] (Plate I, over lion).

In the same relief Ramses is shown sitting on the throne of gold (Plates I, IV, and VI). Later on, after the beginning of the battle reference is made in an inscription over the relief of the battle to Ramses's location in camp:

16.

The stand which his majesty made while he was sitting on the northwest of Kadesh.[97]

This is again corroborated by a remark in an inscription over newly arrived infantry (Plates I, IV, and VI), to which are added other important statements:[98]

[95] The remnant of a determinative of a building is visible after the lacuna, hence the restoration is almost certain, in view of the fact that the other sources prove that he camped here.

[96] Ramesseum, *LD.*, III, 155; same at Abu Simbel, but very incorrect.

[97] Ramesseum, first and second pylons. *Infra*, Plates II and III.

[98] No. 17 is omitted.

18.

His majesty was camping alone, no army with him: his — and his troops had [not yet?] arrived, and the division with which Pharaoh, L. P. H., was[99] had not finished setting up the camp. Now the division of Re and the division of Ptah were (still) on the march; they had not (yet) arrived and their officers were in the forest of Baui (*B'wy*).[100]

These statements hardly need any comment. Ramses, with the division of Amon, has passed along the west side of Kadesh and gone into camp[101] early in the afternoon on the northwest of Kadesh. Of his other three divisions the Egyptian scribe only knows that Re and Ptah are somewhere on the march, with their officers evidently separated from them in the forest south of Kadesh; while of Sutekh he knows nothing. He does not refer to it again, nor do any of the other documents, so that it no longer plays any part in the problem, being evidently too far away.[102] It is evident that Ramses's rapid march left them all far behind; Re has reached the city later when the battle begins, but the others are still south of Shabtuna at the time of the Asiatic attack. Ramses evidently kept in touch with Re and was able to hasten its march, but Ptah and Sutekh were far beyond his immediate commands. The positions of all three on Map VI are only approximate.

Meantime, as Ramses has himself now occupied the very position held shortly before by the Asiatics, it is evident that they have removed their army to some other point. This move and the proximity of the enemy Ramses himself now learns in the following manner, as narrated by the Record: "There arrived a scout who was in the following of his majesty, and he brought two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta" (Record, ll. 8, 9). Their arrival is noted in the reliefs in a short inscription: "The arrival of the scout of Pharaoh, L. P. H., bringing the two scouts of the vanquished chief of Kheta before Pharaoh, L. P. H." They are being beaten[103] to cause them to tell where the vanquished chief of Kheta is.[104] This preliminary, graphically depicted

[99] This clause shows that the statement that the Pharaoh was alone, made just before, is to be taken with the greatest reserve; and wherever this statement, so often made, occurs, we are to understand only that his army as a whole was not with him.

[100] Abu Simbel: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 32 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 97 = *LD.*, III, 187; Ramesseum: *LD.*, III, 155; Luxor: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 327 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 107. *Infra*, Plates.

[101] This is a march of about fifteen miles. Ramses's evident haste to reach Kadesh makes a rate of two miles an hour not excessive. Starting at 7 A.M., he would have reached his camp by Kadesh by 2:30 P.M.

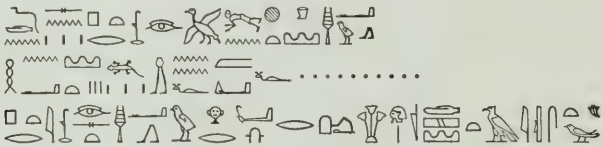
[102] MASPERO's statement (*Struggle*, 394) that the division of "Sûtkhû" reached the field and took part in the battle, has no documentary support.

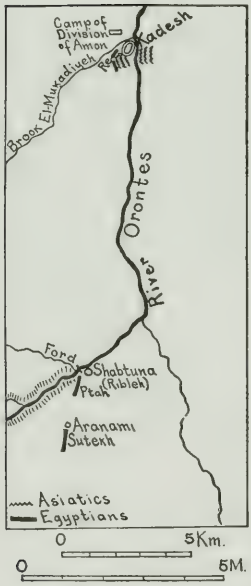
[103] Literally, "one is beating them."

[104] Inscription by the scene of the beating; *infra*, Plates I, IV, and VI.

in the relief (to which the Record makes no reference), being over, the following conversation occurs:

His majesty said to them: "What are ye?" They said: "As for us, the vanquished chief of Kheta has caused that we should come to spy out where his majesty is." Said his majesty to them: "He! Where is he, the vanquished chief of Kheta? Behold, I have heard that he is in the land of Aleppo."

19. 



MAP VII. Fourth Positions

Said they: "See, the vanquished chief of Kheta is stationed together with the many countries which he has brought with him. . . . . See, they are stationed drawn up for battle behind Kadesh, the Deceitful" (Record, ll. 10–12).

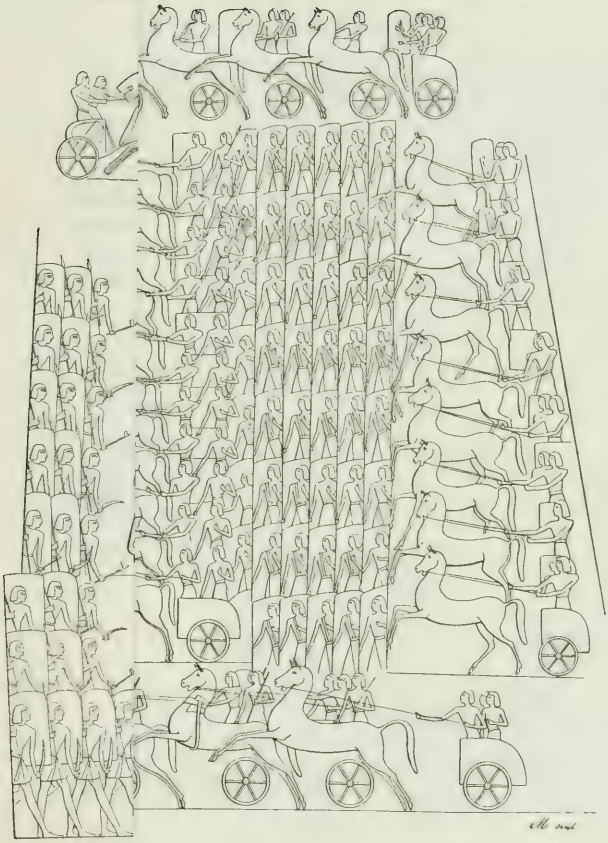
The phrase, "behind Kadesh" is, of course, used with relation to Ramses's position[105] on the northwest of Kadesh, which would put the Asiatics on the southeast of the city. This position accords exactly with the position from which they presently emerged to attack the advancing division of Re (No. 21), and there can be no doubt of its correctness. As Ramses and the division of Amon marched northward along the west side of the city, the Asiatics have quickly shifted their position across the Orontes, and southward along the east side of the city. They have literally played "hide and seek" with Ramses around the city.[106] They have gained a most advantageous position on his right flank (for we must regard him as facing northward), and all too late he now learns of the fatal snare into which he has fallen.

FOURTH POSITIONS (Map VII).—The instant has now come when the Hittite king must take advantage of the position which he has gained. The sources recount the catastrophe very clearly. They first indicate the nature of the attack; it was to be executed by the chariotry:

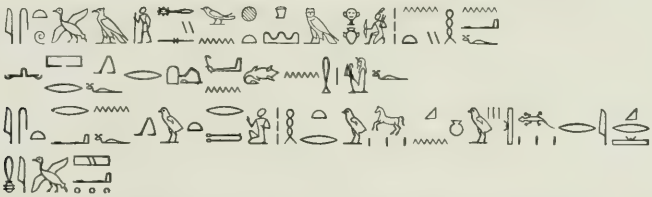
[105] That the phrase "behind Kadesh" is thus to be explained, is proved by the variant in the Poem (l. 20), where the hieroglyphic texts have "behind Kadesh," while the hieratic has "on the northwest of Kadesh." Ramses's position at the time was south of Kadesh. Thus "behind" and "northwest of" were practically synonymous from the Egyptian point of view.

[106] How far the forest of Baui enabled the Hittite king to mask his movements it is impossible to state; but the later attack on the division of Re would seem to have been aided by the protection of forest.

Plate IV



Luxor Reliefs; the Camp (Ros., *Mon. stor.*, 106, 107)

20. 

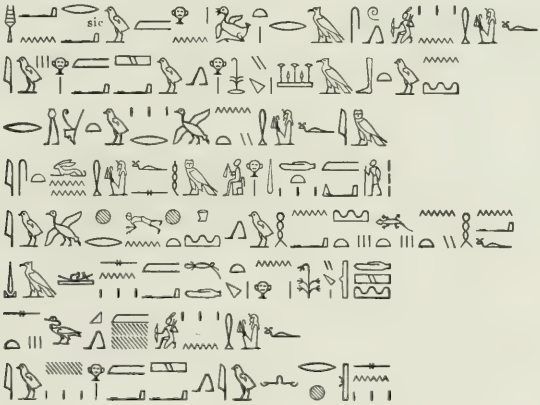
Behold, the wretched chief of Kheta was stationed in the midst of the army which was with him; he went not forth to fight, for fear of his majesty; but he made to go the people of the chariotry, an exceedingly numerous multitude like the sand (Poem, ll. 18, 19).

The reliefs show the Asiatics using chariotry alone, and it is here clearly stated that the Hittite king employed only chariotry. The reliefs, as we shall later notice more fully, corroborate the statement of the Poem that the Hittite king did not go into the action himself, but remained in the midst of his "army," a word which may here be equally well rendered "infantry." The Poem then proceeds with the attack of the chariotry thus:

21.

They came forth from the south side of Kadesh and they cut through the division of Re in its middle, while they were on the march, not knowing, nor being drawn up for battle (Poem, ll. 20, 21).

The same facts, with some important additions, are given by the Record, following the Pharaoh's interview with the scouts:

22. 

Then the vizier was ordered[107] to hasten the army of his majesty, while they were marching on the south of Shabtuna, in order to bring them to the place where his majesty was. Lo, while his majesty sat talking with his nobles, the vanquished chief of Kheta came, together with the many countries which were with him. They crossed the ford on the south of Kadesh, and they charged into the army of his majesty, while they were marching and not knowing. (Record, ll. 18–21.)

MAP VIII. Fifth Positions

Immediately following the interview with the scouts, Ramses had bitterly chided his officers for their inability to inform him that the enemy was near (Record, ll. 12–18). The reliefs (Plates I, IV, VI, VII) show his discomfited officers bowing in his presence during this rebuke. It is this address to his officers which is referred to in the above remark: "while his majesty sat talking with his nobles." This is important, as showing that the attack of the Asiatics, the discovery of their real position, and the dispatch of the messenger southward, were all three practically simultaneous. The messenger sent by the vizier is shown in the reliefs[108] (Plates V and VI), after he has made his way successfully around the intervening lines of the attacking enemy, southward to the division of Ptah. He is accompanied by the words: "The scout of the army of Pharaoh, L. P. H., going to hasten the division of Ptah, saying: 'March on! Pharaoh, L. P. H., your lord, stands. . . . .'"[109] In addition to this messenger, it is probable that the vizier, realizing the gravity of the danger, himself went in a chariot to meet and bring up the division of Ptah. In any case, the reliefs show another messenger in a chariot; and as we shall later see, the vizier eventually brings up the reinforcements in person.

Ramses has not yet grasped the desperate character of the situation. It should be noted that he orders the vizier to hasten his forces which are still on the south of

[107] Literally, "one ordered the vizier" (read *rdy' tw*).

[108] Luxor: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 323 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 106; Abu Simbel: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 18 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 95.

[109] CHAMP., *Mon.*, 18 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 95; the conclusion is lost. We may allow him an hour for his dangerous mission. For Ibn Ayâs says (ARNOLD, *Chrest. arab.*, p. 63):

فلمّا كانتْ دوْلة الملك الظاهر بيبَرْس
البُنْدُقْداريّ رَتّب خيْل البريد فى سَائر
الطرقات حتى كان الخبر يصل من دمشْق
الى قلعة الجبل فى اربعة ايّام ويعود إلى
دمشق فى مثْلها

from which it appears that the post horsemen in the days of Bîbars carried letters between Cairo and Damascus in four days, a daylight speed of seven or eight miles an hour. Hence our messenger riding on such an errand through essentially the same country as Bîbars's horsemen, could certainly have made the necessary five or six miles in an hour. Granting that he was dispatched a half-hour after Ramses reached camp (2:30 P. M.), namely 3:00 P. M., his ride would have been five or six miles long. For in the hour and a half since Ramses reached camp, the division of Ptah, then south of Shabtuna, will have advanced possibly two miles north of it, leaving the messenger between five and six miles to ride in reaching them. It would then be four o'clock when the reinforcements received their orders to "hasten."

Shabtuna; he evidently has no suspicion but that the division of Re is within a half-hour of his camp, ready to be called into instant service. In other words, he thinks his available force consists of half his army. As a matter of fact, the division of Re is at that moment being totally disorganized and cut to pieces, as it marches northward in Ramses's footsteps, past the southwest corner of Kadesh. The reliefs at the Ramesseum (Plate II, upper right-hand corner) and at Abu Simbel (Plate VI), show the Asiatic chariotry crossing the river south of the city for the attack, though probably at a little later stage in the battle.[110]

FIFTH POSITIONS (Map VIII).—The following movements complete the appalling disaster which faces Ramses. He is totally cut off from the mass of his army and surrounded by the enemy, as the documents graphically depict. Following the statement of the Asiatic attack (No. 21) the Poem has the following:

23.

The infantry and chariotry of his majesty, L. P. H., fled before them (Poem, l. 21).

Then follows the location of Ramses:

Lo, his majesty had halted on the north of the city of Kadesh, etc. (No. 13);

after which the Poem states:

24.

Then went one to tell it to his majesty, L. P. H. (Poem, l. 21).

This messenger sent by some officer of the division of Re must have reached Ramses after his dispatch of the messengers to the southern divisions, else he would not have been obliged to torture the Asiatic scouts in order to learn the location of the enemy.[111] Ramses has now learned the full extent of the disaster which his rashness and credulity have brought upon him. Opposite him, on the other side of the river, he could see the Hittite king drawing up 8,000 infantry to cut off his retreat in that direction. Furthermore, the messenger from the division of Re had certainly not long reached his lord's tent, when Ramses received ample corroboration of his message; for the Record says, in continuation of the Asiatic attack on the division of Re (No. 22):

25.

[110] In modern times there is a ford forty minutes south of Tell Nebi Mendeh.

[111] This is also evident from the fact that the attack took place while Ramses was still rebuking his officers for their neglect, at which time his messengers to the southern divisions were already dispatched.

Then the infantry and chariotry of his majesty fled before them, northward, to the place where his majesty was. Lo, the foe (*ḫrw*) of[112] the vanquished chief of Kheta surrounded the attendants of his majesty, who were by his side. (Record, ll. 21, 22.)

The division of Re, all unprepared as it was, was struck so hard by the Asiatic chariotry that it crumbled before them. The southern portion or rear of their column must have been scattered in the neighboring forest, with the loss of many prisoners, chariots, and weapons. Some may have escaped to the division of Ptah. But of this rear of the column the sources say nothing. They are more interested in the front of the column, which, broken and disorganized, having of course lost many prisoners and all their equipment, fled in a rout northward to Ramses's camp, where they must have arrived upon the very heels of the messenger, who brought Ramses the news of the disaster. They are hotly pursued by the Asiatic chariotry, who on reaching Ramses's camp spread out and infold it within their extended wings. The Record states that only Ramses and his "attendants" were thus surrounded; Ramses, moreover, after the battle, rebukes his army for having forsaken him in his hour of need.[113] It is certain, therefore, that the fleeing horde from the division of Re carried with them in a common rout the division of Amon, which was camping with Ramses. The reliefs have preserved one incident of this pursuit by the Asiatic chariotry, which is important because it shows at what point the pursuit struck the camp. They all show the most notable of the pursued bursting through the barricade of the camp with the Hittite chariots[114] in hot pursuit; but as at present published the incident is intelligible only in the Ramesseum reliefs (Plate I, upper right-hand corner). Here we see that the fugitives are no less than two royal princes, each in his chariot, a royal sunshade-bearer, and a fourth important official. The name and titles of the first are lost; those of the second are given as: "Fan-bearer at the king's right hand, king's scribe, general —— of his majesty, Prēhirunamef."[115] This general was the fourth[116] son of Ramses, and the "first charioteer of his majesty;"[117] his presence in this battle has been heretofore unnoticed, and very strikingly confirms the remark of Diodorus, that Ramses's sons were appointed by him as commanders of this army (*ὧν ἁπάντων υἱοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, *supra*, p. 11). Over the fourth of the fugitives is an inscription which seems to belong to the whole group; it begins: "The arrival of the — of [Phara]oh, L. P. H., and of[118] the royal children, together with the — of the divine mother." Then after a short lacuna, follows:

[112] "Of" meaning "belonging to," or "of the party of."

[113] Poem, ll. 34 ff.; it refers several times to their flight, ll. 24, 25, ll. 31, 32; again, l. 67 and yet again, l. 68; his charioteer also says: "For, lo, we stand alone, in the midst of the foe; lo, the infantry and chariotry have forsaken us." (Poem, l. 54.)

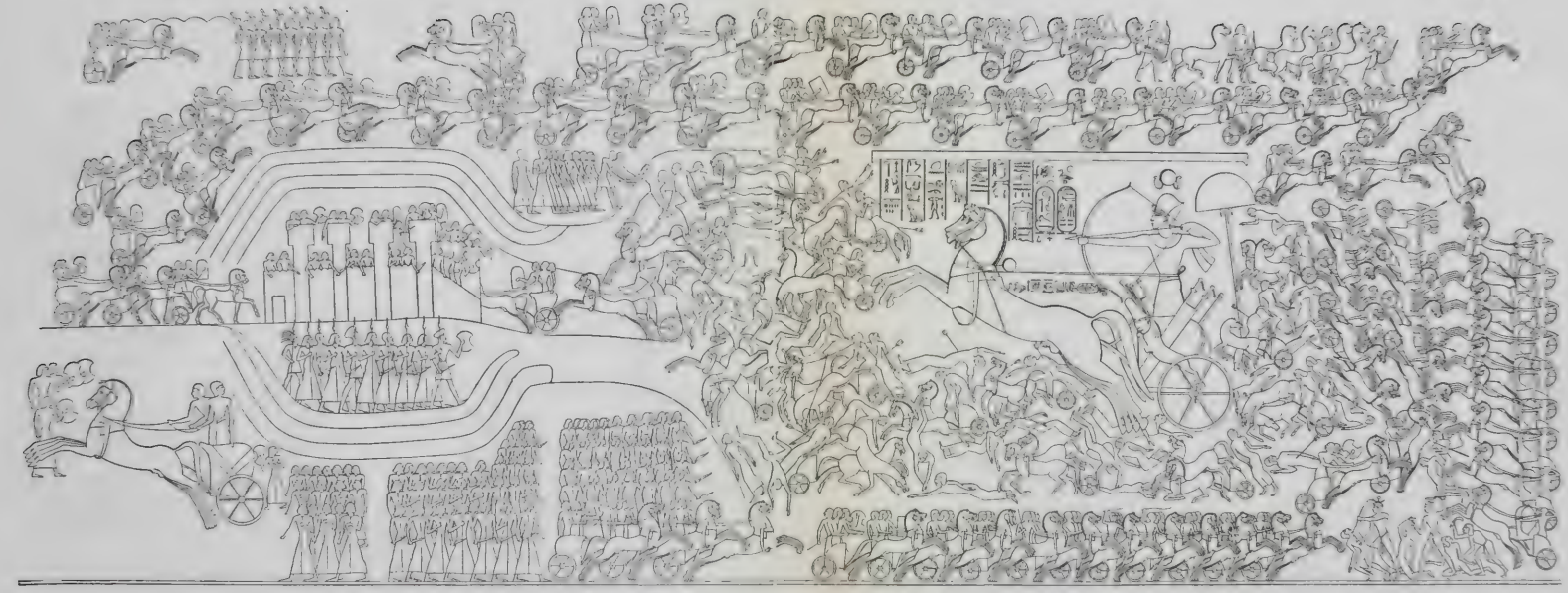
[114] They may be recognized by the three men in each chariot (Egyptians have but two), and by their long robes, reaching below the calf of the leg.

[115] There is clearly no loss at the lower ends of ll. 1, 2, and 4, as given in the publication, and the lacuna of l. 3 should therefore be shorter. In l. 5 only the determinative is wanting.

[116] LEPSIUS, *Königsb.*, No. 428. Hence Ramses already had at least four sons old enough to accompany him in battle, in his fifth year. Ramses was therefore probably at least thirty years of age at this time.

[117] Luxor inscription, *Rec.*, XIV, 32; name also, *ibid.*, 31. Seti I.'s son was also "first charioteer of his majesty" (see DE MORGAN, *Cat. de Mon.*, I, 20, Nos. 123 and 124; bad errors in publication!)

[118] Read a second *yr·n f* The *mwt* sign is of course the eagle of the plural article.



Luxor Reliefs; the Battle (Ros., *Mon. stor.*, 104, 105)

26.

Fleeing on the west side of the camp — ? before (?) the foe.

The pursuit therefore entered the camp from that side; the first comers, as the relief (Plate I) vividly shows, were received by the Pharaoh's heavy infantry guard, stationed around the camp, who pulled them from their chariots and dispatched them with short swords and spears. Taken with but short shrift for preparation, Ramses hesitated not an instant in attempting to cut his way out, and to reach his southern columns. With only the household followers and officers who happened to be at his side,[119] he mounted his waiting chariot,[120] and boldly charged into the advance of the Hittite pursuit as it pushed into his camp on the west side. This is narrated by the Poem (following No. 24) thus:

27.

Var.

His majesty halted in the rout,[121] then he charged into the midst of the foe of the vanquished of Kheta, while he was alone by himself, without another with him. When his majesty, L. P. H., went to reconnoiter behind him, he found that 2,500 spans of chariotry had surrounded him on his way out, being every warrior of the vanquished of Kheta. (Poem, ll. 22–4.)

[119] Ramses speaks (Poem, l. 72) of "the sewers (*wb'w*) of the council chamber who were at my side."

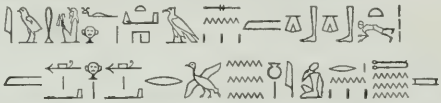
[120] Shown in Plates I, IV, and VI.

[121] This rendering is not quite certain; it follows the variant, which is from the hieroglyphic text; *yr·n* being from the hieratic.

His unexpected onset thus brought him an instant's respite, during which he pushed out a few paces on the west [122] or south of his camp, perceived how he was infolded by the enemy's wings and must have instantly understood that further onset in that direction was hopeless. The enemy, strong at this point for that very purpose, must have immediately driven him back again, when he, of course finding the eastern wing of the enemy's chariots much thinner than the center which he had just assaulted, turned his assault eastward toward the river. The Record, which omits all reference to his attempt on the enemy's center, makes short work of the whole battle thus (following No. 25):

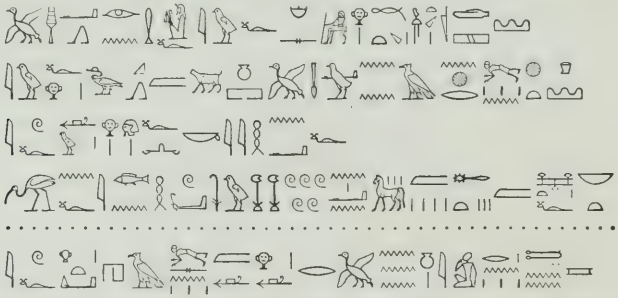
When his majesty saw them, he was enraged against them like his father, Montu, lord of Thebes. He seized the adornments of battle, and arrayed himself in his coat of mail. He was like Baal in his hour. Then he betook himself to his horses, and led quickly on, being alone by himself. He charged into the foe of the vanquished chief of Kheta, and the numerous countries which were with him. (Record, ll. 22–4.)

The result of this charge, as the Record continues, was that:

28. 

His majesty hurled them down headlong, one after another, into the waters of the Orontes (Record, ll. 24, 25).

The inscription over the battle likewise, besides showing clearly where the struggle took place, states little beyond the fact given in the Record. It is as follows:[123]

29. 

The stand which his majesty made while he was camping [124] on the northwest of Kadesh. He charged into the midst of the foe of the vanquished of Kheta while he was alone, without

[122] Which side the Egyptian considered as the front of his camp, we do not know, but as Ramses's front during the remainder of the battle was east, the narrator, seeing it long afterward, was probably thinking of this fact, when he said "behind him," meaning westward. According to Ramses's past advance, south would be "behind him."

[123] According to the publications, this inscription is found only at the Ramesseum: First Pylon, *LD.*, III, 157–61 = CHAMP. *Not. descr.*, 872; Second Pylon, CHAMP., *Mon.*, 328-30 = *Not. descr.*, 586–9, 873, 874 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 109, 110 = *LD.*, III, 164, 165.

[124] Literally, "sitting," the term also used for "besieging," which may be the meaning here.

another with him, and he found that 2,500 spans of chariotry had surrounded him[125] in four bodies on his every side. . . . .[126] He hurled them down, one upon another, into the waters of the Orontes.[127]

Had the enemy now quickly pressed in upon him from the west he must inevitably have been likewise pushed back upon the river. He certainly had not more than a few hundred troops, but these were the best of his army, and with these he repeatedly charged impetuously down to the river. Meantime his camp had of course fallen into the hands of the enemy, as we shall see (No. 30), and it was certainly this which saved him. The weakness of oriental armies in the matter of plunder is well known. Thutmose III. would have captured Megiddo on the day of his battle there, as he himself says, had his troops not been lured from the pursuit by the plunder on the field. Mohammed would have won the battle of Ohod, had his troops not thrown discipline to the winds and given themselves to the pillaging of the enemy's camp, which they had taken at the first assault. Such occurrences are legion in oriental history. The battle of Kadesh is but another example. While Ramses's unexpected and impetuous offensive has swept the enemy's right into the river, their center is diverted by the rich plunder of the camp. It is the offensive of Ramses at this stage of the battle to which the reliefs give so much attention. They depict him at the moment when he drove the enemy's right into the river, with great vivacity and realism, introducing lively incidents which it would here delay us too long to discuss.[128]

A body of troops, which it is difficult to connect with any of the four divisions, now unexpectedly arrives and begins Ramses's rescue. They are the first infantry which plays any important part in the battle, but they have also chariotry; they are depicted in all the reliefs, arriving at the camp in perfect discipline, with the following inscription[129] over them:

30.

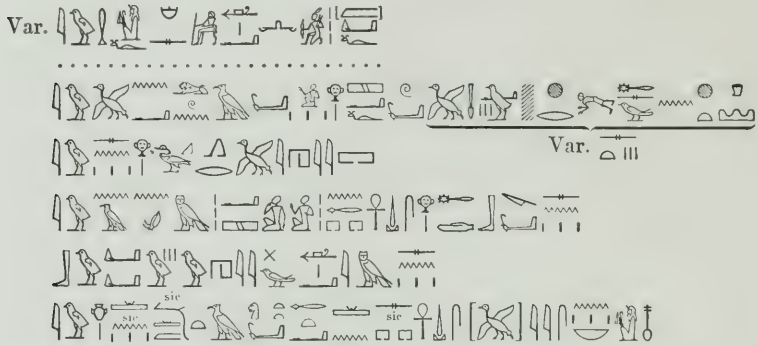
[125] Ramses himself makes a similar statement in the Poem (ll. 35, 36): "I found that the 2,500 spans of chariotry, in whose midst I was, were prostrated before my horses;" and again in l. 54.

[126] The omitted portion is rather conventional description: "He slaughtered them, making them heaps beneath his horses. He slew all the chiefs of all the countries, the allies of the vanquished chief of Kheta, together with his own nobles, his infantry, and his chariotry. He overthrew them prostrate upon their faces; he hurled them, etc ," as above.

[127] Ramses himself repeats this statement, Poem, l, 38.

[128] They will be taken up later in the discussion of the reliefs.

[129] Abu Simbel: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 32 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 97 = *LD.*, III, 187; Ramesseum: *LD.*, III, 155; Luxor: CHAMP., *Mon.*, 327 = ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 107. I had also Grünau's photographs of Abu Simbel. See *infra*, Plates I, IV and VI.



The arrival of the recruits[130] of Pharaoh, L. P. H., from[131] the land of Amor. They found[132] that the vanquished of Kheta had surrounded the camp of Pharaoh L. P. H.,[133] on his (or its) west side,[134] while his majesty was camping alone, without an army with him. . . . . (portion omitted = No. 18). The recruits cut off the vanquished, wretched foe of Kheta, while they were entering into the camp. The officers of Pharaoh, L. P. H., slew them, and let not one of them escape. Their[135] heart was filled[136] with the great valor of Pharaoh,[137] L. P. H., their good lord.

These troops do not belong to the divisions of Re or Ptah, for they are clearly distinguished from them in the section above omitted (see No. 18).[138] They are possibly a portion of the fugitive division of Amon, now returning on finding that they are no longer pursued by the enemy. In this case it is difficult to understand why they should be designated as just arriving "from Amor," farther south. They arrived just as the enemy were taking possession of the abandoned camp of Ramses from the west. Taking the now dismounted Asiatic chariotry, at the moment when they were beginning the pillage of the camp, the "recruits" surprised and easily cut them to pieces. They would, of course, immediately reinforce Ramses, and together with the rallying fragments of the division of Amon, which might now come in on the west, considerably augment his strength.[139] Seeing this the Hittite king made

130 Literally, "youths," *n'rwn'* = נערין.

131 The preposition (*m*) is unquestionably to be so rendered here (not "in"). This is the usual idiom for "arrive" or "return from." Thus in the tomb of Hui (*LD.*, Text III, 303) over the arrival of Ethiopian envoys, we find: "Arrival from (*yyt m*) Kush . . . . landing at the Southern City." Or on the stela of *Ykwdydy* (Berlin, 1199, *Ausf. Verz.*, p. 89) "I came from Thebes" (to Abydos); and so often. Hence ED. MEYER is right in his contention (*Aegyptiaca*, *Festschr. f. Ebers.*, p. 69) that Amor did not include Kadesh.

132 Certainly miscopied from *gmnsn*. We have here *gmnsn ynḫ*, as we have *gmnf ynḫ* in Nos. 27 and 29. See *gmny* (also without *m* complement in Poem, Kar., l. 30).

133 Luxor omits this phrase.

134 The variant is supported only by Luxor while Abu Simbel and Ramesseum have first form. Since above was stereotyped Grünau's photo shows the *ḥ* in *ynḫ* and that ' should be removed. But it makes absolutely no sense, while the variant fits in perfectly. Hence I am inclined to think the first form a corruption in the scribal text.

135 Photo shows *sn*.

136 Photo shows *mḫ*.

137 Photo shows ' '.

138 Moreover, they appear too early in the action to have belonged to the division of Ptah.

139 The Poem (ll. 45-54) represents Ramses as addressing his fleeing troops, calling upon them to halt, and witness his victory, etc. It is probable, therefore, that they did turn back and support him.

another desperate attempt to destroy Ramses before the arrival of the latter's reinforcements. It is related by the Poem as follows (ll. 38–44):

> Lo, the wretched, vanquished chief of Kheta stood in the midst of his infantry and his chariotry, beholding the battle of his majesty, while his majesty was alone by himself, not having his infantry with him, nor chariotry. He stood turned about for fear of his majesty. Then he caused to go numerous chiefs, each one among them having his chariotry, and being equipped with the weapons of warfare: the chief of Arvad, him of Masa, the chief of Yawen (Ionians), him of Lycia, the chief of Dardeny, him of Keshkesh, the chief of Carchemish, the chief of Kerkesh,[140] him of Aleppo, (being) all the brethren of him of Kheta, united in one body, being 1,000[141] spans of chariotry.

The Poem then narrates in highly colored language the overthrow of these reinforcements, without indicating where they were thrown in, or how they were used; but Ramses must now have had sufficient troops to hold his own against them. He must have maintained the unequal struggle in all for about three hours,[142] when he finally led at least six assaults against the enemy, the last of which seems to have been especially successful; for after the battle has been raging for some time, the Poem says:

> Then his majesty advanced swiftly and charged into the foe of the vanquished of Kheta. At the sixth[143] charge among them, being like Baal behind them in the hour of his might, I[144] made slaughter among them, and there was none that escaped me. (Poem, ll. 58, 59.)

While this passage does not at all explain the direction or place of the assaults, it indicates what was evidently the fact during the long three hours of desperate fighting, viz., that it was only by prodigies of personal valor that Ramses held his scanty forces together. Of this three hours' combat we have been able above to follow little more than those incidents which exhibited the splendid personal courage of Ramses in his almost single-handed struggle; for, I repeat, it is in these that the sources are chiefly interested. As soon as the reinforcements arrive, and the action becomes more general and extended, no longer centering in the Pharaoh's onset, the court narrators, whose function it is to immortalize the deeds of their lord, have no occasion to record it. Hence neither the Poem nor the Record makes the slightest reference to the arrival of Ramses's reinforcements, and we are unable to present any plan of the battle from this point on.

As far as we know, the Hittite king made no attempt to prevent the division of Ptah from reaching the field. Neither the Poem nor the Record refer to its arrival in any way, and the only record of its coming is preserved in the reliefs at Luxor (Plate V). Among the approaching reinforcements, hastening up in the rear of the

[140] Omitted by Sallier III, and fragmentary in the hieroglyphic except at Abydos, which gives complete reading.

[141] Sallier III has 2,500; Luxor and Abydos are destroyed at this point; Karnak alone shows 1,000. If Sallier III is correct, the whole incident is but a repetition of the first attack, in which 2,500 chariots were involved. But the entire context indicates that we have here a reinforcement of the Hittite attack; the papyrus, which is excessively inaccurate, has out of habit written 2,500 before the frequently recurring phrase "spans of chariotry."

[142] If his messenger reached the division of Ptah, a mile or two north of Shabtuna, by 4:00 P. M., they could reach the field by a forced march by 6:00 P. M., three hours after the battle began.

[143] Not eight, as given by MASPERO (*Struggle*, p. 393). On the rendering of the ordinal, see SETHE, *AZ.*, 38, 144.

[144] The sudden change of person is in all the originals.

Hittites, appear the words:[145] "Arrival of the vizier to [assist?] the army of [his majesty]." The vizier thus leads the reinforcements into action.[146] The Asiatics, caught between the opposing lines, were driven into the city, probably with considerable loss. The Luxor relief shows them fleeing into the city, but none of the other sources offers the slightest reference to the movements of the troops at the close of the battle. The Record closes all such narrative by simply averring that Ramses hurled them all into the river; while the Poem goes on from that point, chiefly to enlarge upon the Pharaoh's personal prowess, with picturesque and telling incidents, but gives little of the character of the subsequent battle as a whole. We should have supposed that rather than allow Ramses to escape from the snare so cleverly laid for him, the Hittite king would have thrown in every man of the eight thousand infantry in the midst of which he stood on the east side of the river watching the battle[147] (Plates II, III, and V, and p. 43). But with the exception of the incidents in the camp the entire battle was one of chariotry; and as we know nothing of the relative or comparative effectiveness of infantry and chariotry at this early period, there may have been reasons why the Hittite king could not employ his foot against the Egyptian chariots. So clever a strategist as the Hittite leader had shown himself to be would not have held back a great body of infantry without what seemed to him a good reason, however it might seem to us.

When evening drew on the enemy took refuge in the city, the battle was over, and Ramses was saved. The Poem[148] goes on to describe how the scattered Egyptian fugitives crept back and found the plain strewn with the Asiatic dead, especially of the personal and official circle about the Hittite king. This was undoubtedly true; the Asiatics must have lost heavily in Ramses's camp, on the river north of the city, and at the arrival of the division of Ptah; but Ramses's loss was certainly also very heavy, and in view of the disastrous surprise of the division of Re, probably much greater than that of his enemies. What made the issue a success for Ramses was his salvation from utter destruction, and that he eventually also held possession of the field added little practical advantage.

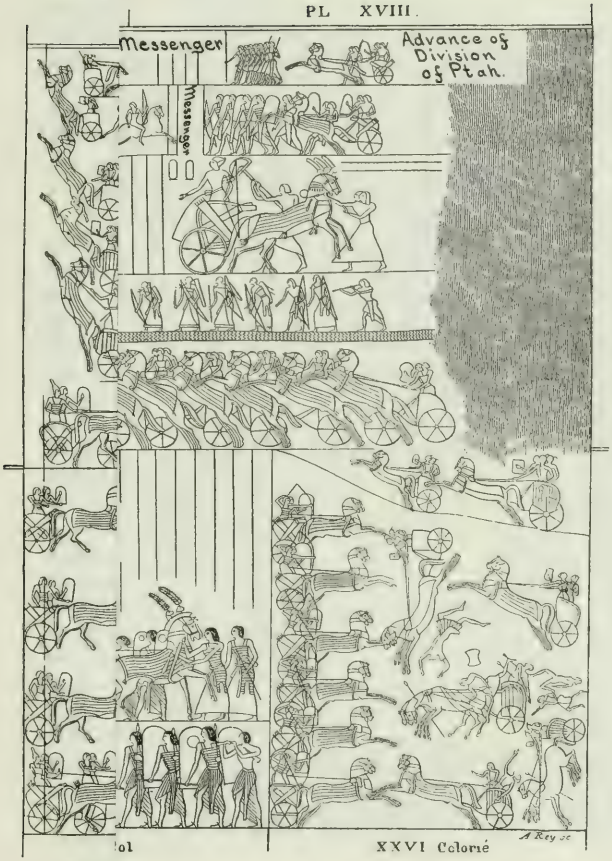
In conclusion we must note briefly, but more fully than was possible above, the more important characteristics of the reliefs, as bearing upon the questions of place and time above discussed. As I have already stated, we much need an accurate and exhaustive publication of these scenes. The drawings of Weidenbach are so out of proportion that they cannot be joined, and I have been obliged to separate the different plates by an interval. The earlier publications, though the plates fit together more accurately, are much more inaccurate than Weidenbach. But they are all sufficiently accurate to determine the movements of troops, as far as they are represented in these

[145] CHAMP., *Mon.*, 324 (in publication incorrectly numbered 314). Our Luxor relief (*infra*, Plate V) is taken from Rosellini, who has omitted this inscription. It belongs in Plate V before the Egyptian chariot containing two men, approaching a line of seven standard-bearers in the upper left-hand corner.

[146] As we mentioned above, it is possible that the vizier himself went south to bring up the division of Ptah.

[147] The position which I have assigned to this infantry on Map VIII is based on the reliefs, which show that they were posted on the river opposite the point toward which Ramses was charging.

[148] Ll. 59 ff.



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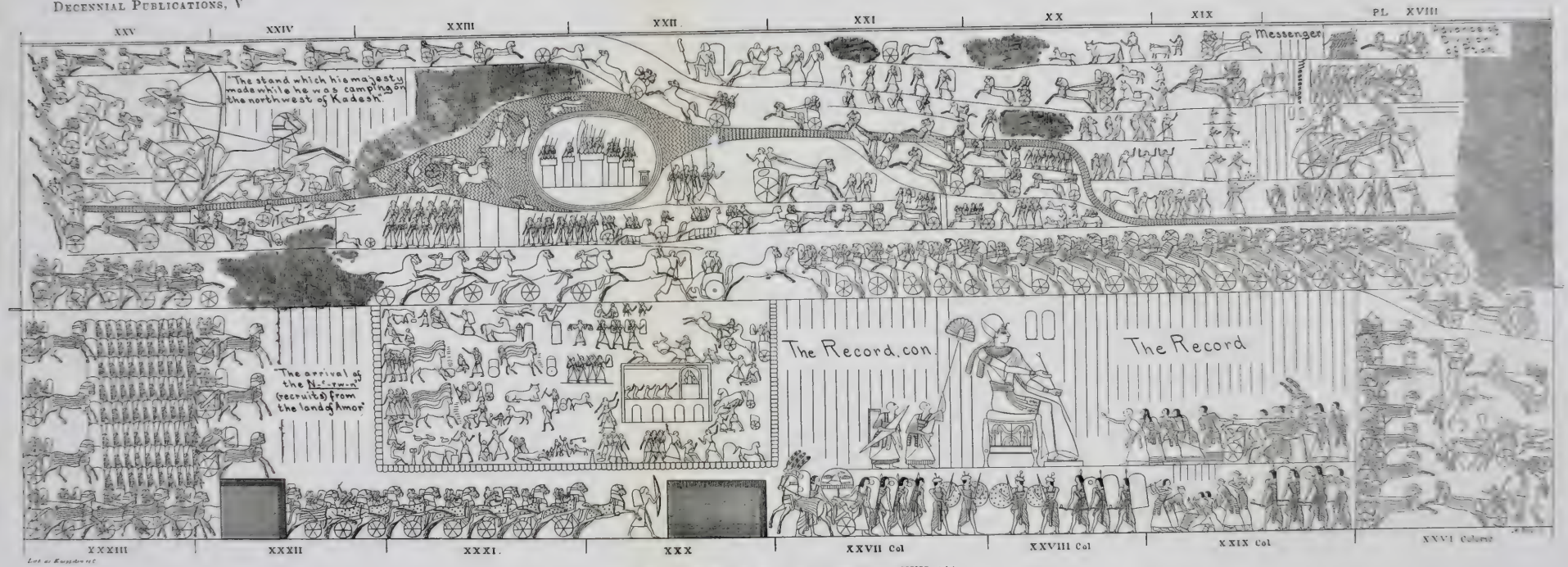
Lith de Kaeppelin



Abu Simbel Reliefs, General View (Champ., *Mon.*, XVII, *bis*)

scenes. A careful examination shows that these reliefs ignore entirely or consider only loosely relations both of time and place. Those of time are so disregarded that the pictures become progressive, representing successive incidents, like those found in later European painting,[149] as late as the seventeenth century. But our reliefs become very confused at this point, because they also neglect relations of place. This may be best seen at Abu Simbel (Plate VI). In the lower half are the camp and accompanying incidents; while the upper half contains the scene of Ramses charging. At the right end of the camp (before the words: "The Record, con.") we have the pursuing Hittites driving in the royal princes (see above pp. 34, 35). At the other end (before the words: "The Arrival, etc.") are the incoming "recruits" who later in the battle slew the Hittites in the camp. Now both these incidents took place at the west end of the camp as the accompanying inscriptions show; in order to represent them correctly, the artist would have been obliged to make two drawings of the camp: one, the earlier, showing the fugitive princes at the west end; and another, the later, showing the incoming "recruits" likewise at the west end. But the artist does not do this. He draws the camp and describes it in a short inscription as in process of erection. This is the earliest instant. He then adds the other successive incidents: at the right the Pharaoh's session with his officers and the beating of the Asiatic scouts; then, also at the right, and coming from nowhere apparently, the princes fleeing into the camp; and finally the arrival of the "recruits," at the other end, the only place where he had room. Thus, with but little regard for time or place, various incidents are loosely grouped about some more important center. As is of course well known, this is only in accord with the fundamental characteristic of Egyptian drawing: inability to represent things or their parts, in their proper local relations to each other. So complicated a scene as that of a moated city on a river, with a battle raging about it, comes out remarkably enough when depicted after this manner. At one end is Ramses receiving prisoners and trophies after the battle; at the other end he charges the enemy's right early in the action. As in the lower row we can only affirm that these two incidents took place near the city. The charge we know from the inscriptions was north of the city, and the reception of prisoners in all probability likewise took place there. Under these circumstances it is *a priori* clear that safe topographical conclusions can hardly be made from the reliefs. But let us nevertheless make the attempt. According to the inscriptions, Ramses was northwest of Kadesh when the battle took place. Looking at the Abu Simbel reliefs (Plate VI) we shall see, then, that the left end is therefore the north. This coincides, too, with the direction of the messenger (extreme right) as he goes southward to bring up the southern reinforcements, and also with the position of the advance lines of the division of Ptah. This is also in accord with the direction of the river. The north and south axis is apparently all in order; but not so the east and west axis; for Ramses is here shown on the east of the

[149] For example, a progressive painting of the incidents of Christ's death and resurrection, Berlin No. 1222, *Schule von Soest*, about 1470 to 1500 A. D.

river, whereas the sources clearly state that his camp was on the west side of the river (No. 13), and by his camp these charges of Ramses took place. Or granting that he is on the west of the river, he would then be south of the city, which is again directly contradicted by the inscriptions. The topography of the relief therefore cannot be harmonized with the data of the inscriptional documents. But more than this: the reliefs flatly contradict each other. Looking at the Luxor relief (Plate V), we see Ramses charging on the right of the city. If he is here north of the city, as he must be to accord with the inscriptions, he is then on the west of the river.[150] Or granting that he is on the south of the city, he is then on the east of the river. In either case his position is diametrically opposite to that shown in the other reliefs. It is out of the question to suppose that Abu Simbel and the two Ramesseum reliefs represent a different stage of the conflict and a different position from that shown at Luxor. The Luxor relief shows Ramses surrounded by four bodies of Asiatic chariotry, a situation which arose *at his camp* early in the battle; the other reliefs all depict exactly the same situation and therefore the same place. In *all*, Ramses is in or beside his camp. The cause of the contradiction is not far to seek. The artist was obliged by his own limitations to begin by laying down the river horizontally along the middle of his horizontal field. This done and the city located, he was ready to put in Ramses and the combatants. When we remember that Ramses hurled his foes *down* into the river,[151] there is no place to put Ramses except OVER the river. Otherwise, in such primitive drawing, the enemy before him would have had to fall *up* into the river. Hence whether Ramses is placed on the right or the left of the city, he must necessarily be placed *above* the river, and his position on that side of it has no topographical significance whatever.[152]

Bearing in mind these facts we may now rapidly note just what important moments in the progress of the battle the reliefs show. They show us first the camp (Plates I, IV, and VI) with its rectangular barricade of shields. We cannot stop to note the animated scenes of camp life within, but the reader should notice the large rectangular pavilion of Ramses in the middle. Several smaller tents of the officers are grouped about that of Ramses. On the right[153] (Luxor, left) is Ramses, sitting, as the Record states (No. 14) "upon a throne of gold." This scene is, of course, supposed to take place in the Pharaoh's tent. Before him are his courtiers and officers, near whom (below) the unfortunate Asiatic spies are being beaten. Around them are grouped Ramses's heavy guard of foot, consisting of Egyptians (round-topped shields)

[150] The drawing of the river is quite incomplete in the Luxor publication (Plate V). Its upper line should be continued downward and toward the right under Ramses (as the photograph shows), so that Ramses is above the river, as in all the other reliefs.

[151] Literally, "caused them to go down (or fall) into the waters."

[152] If anyone doubts the Egyptian's astonishing unconsciousness of the proper relations of place in a drawing, let him look at the naïve drawing of Ramses's drawn bow, on Plate III; or his amazing feats of anatomy in drawing the human form (ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 399); or the drawing of the façade of a temple, showing the façade viewed from a point in front, combined with a view of its accompanying colossi from two sides, those on the right from the right side, and those on the left from the left side; thus introducing three view-points into one drawing.

[153] On Plate I this scene has been taken from the right, and put into the upper left-hand corner to save space.

and Shardana mercenaries, with round shields and horn-crested helmets. Near at hand is Ramses's war chariot, with his charioteer, awaiting his commands. It was during this scene that the division of Re was attacked, and it was thus employed that the messenger announcing the disaster found Ramses. Following closely upon the arrival of this messenger, of whom the reliefs make no mention, is the arrival of the fleeing princes who burst into the camp at the west side (upper right-hand corner; Luxor, upper left). Ramses's guards are seen pulling their pursuers from their chariots and slaying them (especially Plate I). On the left (Luxor, right) are the newly arrived chariotry and infantry of the "recruits," who began Ramses's rescue (pp. 37, 38). But this is in slight anticipation and did not occur until after Ramses himself was in action. The artist, having exhausted this horizontal field, must take another in which to depict Ramses's desperate defense, the scene for which the reliefs chiefly exist. He shows the moated city, bearing the words: "City of Kadesh" (Plate III). Below it the river is swelled and widened, perhaps by a dam, which backs up the water[154] from below, with the intent of strengthening the city's defenses. The line of water at the bottom[155] may be the brook of El-Muḳadiyeh. Especially at Luxor the enemy may be seen surrounding Ramses "in four bodies, on his every side" (No. 29), though this situation is evident in them all. At Abu Simbel (Plate VI) and the Ramesseum (Plate II) the Asiatic chariotry may be seen still crossing the river south (to the right) of the city, though the stage of the conflict is much later than the attack on the division of Re, for which purpose the enemy first crossed there. Before Ramses the plain is strewn with the slain, among whom the accompanying inscriptions furnish the identity of a number of notable personages, among them several commanders, beside the scribe, the charioteer, the chief of the body-guard of the Hittite king; and finally even his own royal brother, who falls at the river's brink. On the opposite shore, their comrades draw the more successful fugitives from the water, and a tall figure held head downward, that he may disgorge the water he has swallowed, is accompanied by the words: "The wretched chief of Aleppo, turned upside down by his soldiers, after his majesty hurled him into the water." In the midst of heavy masses of infantry on the same bank stands the Hittite king in his chariot, whom the Egyptian scribe characterizes in these terms:[156] "The vanquished, wretched chief of Kheta, standing before his infantry and chariotry, with his face turned round, and his heart afraid. He went not forth to battle, for fear of his majesty, after he saw his majesty prevailing [against the vanquished chief] of Kheta and all the chiefs of all the countries [who] were with him." The scribe has indicated at the Ramesseum that this infantry numbers 8,000; but Abu Simbel has: "Other warriors (*tw-hï-r'*) before him, 9,000."[157]

[154] The absurdity of identifying this backed-up water with the lake of Ḥomṣ is evident at the first glance. It is filled with escaping men and horses, whom we are to imagine as swimming across a lake two or three miles wide! We see chariotry galloping around it to surround Ramses, and we are to imagine they are doing it around a lake six miles long and two or three miles wide!

[155] In both scenes at the Ramesseum (Plates II and III). It is also at Abydos.

[156] The same incident is also narrated in the Poem (ll. 38 ff.); *supra*, p. 40.

[157] I had no photograph of this inscription, and the old publications (CHAMP., *Mon.*, and ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*) may easily be in error.

"Other" is, of course, in contrast with those fighting in the battle. Abydos merely has: "[The army?] of the vanquished chief of Kheta, very numerous in men and horses." Meanwhile, as only Abu Simbel shows (Plate VI), the Pharaoh's messenger has reached the division of Ptah in the south; and their arrival is noted at Luxor (see above, p. 32). Luxor and the Ramesseum (Plate II) also show a line of Egyptian chariots attacking the enemy in Ramses's rear. These may be the chariotry of the division of Amon, now rallying to his support.

These reliefs effectually dispose of one fairy tale frequently attached to the battle, viz., that Ramses was accompanied and assisted in the action by his tame lion. So, for example, Maspero says: "The tame lion which accompanied him on his expeditions did terrible work by his side, and felled many an Asiatic with his teeth and claws."[158] The story goes back to classic times, for in a description of the battle scene in the Ramesseum reliefs Diodorus says:[159]

καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τοίχων τὸν βασιλέα κατεσκευάσθαι πολιορκοῦντα τεῖχος ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ περίρρυτον καὶ προκινδυνεύοντα πρός τινας ἀντιτεταγμένους μετὰ λέοντος, συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ θηρίου κατακληκτικῶς· ὑπὲρ οὗ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν χειροήθη λέοντα τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συγκινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς μάχας καὶ τροπὴν ποιεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τὴν ἀλκήν τινες δ' ἱστόρουν ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀνδρεῖος ὢν καὶ φορτικῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν βουλόμενος, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λέοντος εἰκόνος τὴν διάθησιν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐσήμαινεν.[160]

The story was therefore questioned even in Hecatæus's[161] time. The only explanation for it is the fact that on the side of Ramses's chariot at Abu Simbel, Luxor, and in one of the Ramesseum reliefs (Plate III) there is a decorative figure of a lion. It stands in the same position on two different chariots *at the same time* during the council at Abu Simbel (Plate VI), and a moment's examination will convince anyone that the figure is purely decorative. Such decorative lions are not uncommon; thus, for example, on the seat of King Harmhab's throne at Silsileh[162] appears a lion's figure in the same way; and on the sides of Ramses II.'s throne at Luxor[163] are two lions. It would be absurd to affirm that these were living pets of the king. Ramses really did possess a tame lion, which he had with him on this expedition. The lion is shown lying with bound forepaws in the camp behind the Pharaoh's tent in all the scenes of the camp;[164] but there is no evidence that he had anything whatever to do with the battle.[165] There is

158 *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 393.

159 Vol. I, p. 48; ed. VOGEL, Vol. I, pp. 83, 84 = DINDORF-MÜLLER, Vol. I, p. 40. See also the remark of TZETZES, *Rec.*, VIII, 202.

160 Diodorus's alternative explanation is, of course, to be connected with the frequent use of the lion, both in literature and sculpture, as a symbol of the Pharaoh. In sculpture its most common form was the sphinx.

161 Diodorus's description is drawn from Hecatæus of Abdera. On this description see the plan of ROCHEMONTEIX (*Rec.*, VIII, 195).

162 CHAMP., *Mon.*, 111. For other examples see also PETRIE, *Decorative Art*, 113.

163 DARESSY, *Rec.*, 21, 8.

164 At Abu Simbel (Plate VI) it is incorrectly drawn as a bull or ox.

165 The words "slayer of his enemies," applied to the lion at Derr, accompany the sacrifice of prisoners, and only indicate that the lion was allowed to slay them at the usual sacrifice before the god. This is a long way from the employment of the lion in battle. See following note.

absolutely no other basis for the tale,[166] and in the scenes cited by Maspero[167] only the decorative lion is to be found.

The battle once over, Ramses has the trophies, the hands cut from the bodies of the slain, with the prisoners, and spoil brought before him. This is shown in a small corner of the Abu Simbel reliefs (Plate VI, under messengers), where we see him standing in his chariot as the severed hands are cast down before him. None of the other reliefs shows the incident, except Abydos, where it is more fully represented than at Abu Simbel. The scene is unpublished, but the accompanying inscriptions[168] show that Ramses commanded: "[Bring on] the prisoners which I myself captured, while I was alone, having no army with my[169] majesty, nor any prince with me, nor any chariotry." Besides these, there were brought also captured "horses, chariots, bows, swords, and all the weapons of war."

It is unfortunate that the Abydos reliefs are still unpublished, but they are very fragmentary and Mariette gives sufficient description of them to show that they contain the identical scenes found in the others. He says:[170]

> La muraille extérieure du temple n'a été déblayée que récemment. Elle est tout entière historique et se rapporte à une campagne de Ramsès contre les Khétas. . . . .
>
> Les deux armées sont aux prises. Les Khétas, acculés entre deux bras du fleuve, sont cernés et mis en fuite. Ceux qui suivent le bras inférieur ne sont pas atteints. Les autres sont précipités dans les flots. L'armée ennemie est captive avec tous ses baggages (face du Nord).
>
> Une partie des fuyards tombe dans un campement égyptien dont les troupes n'avaient pas pris part à la bataille. On y voit des soldats indigènes et des auxiliaires composés de Schardanas. Quelques régiments sont en marche, probablement pour rejoindre le gros du détachement déjà campé (face de l'Ouest).

Mariette publishes only the following three scenes:

> Plate 30: Empty chariot of Ramses held by charioteer and orderlies, as in all the other reliefs.
>
> Plate 31: Shardana guard as at Abu Simbel.
>
> Plate 32: Lower line of chariots and two lines of infantry from the arrival of the "recruits," as in all the other reliefs.

A hitherto unnoticed relief belonging to this series is on a palimpsest wall at Karnak (Plate VII).[171] It is so injured by the later reliefs which Ramses himself had cut over them, that one can only recognize fragments of the scenes already found in the other reliefs. Comparing it with Luxor (Plate IV), these identical fragments are:

[166] Besides being here in the Pharaoh's camp behind his tent, the lion is found also at Abu Simbel with the Pharaoh on the march (CHAMP., *Mon.*, 15); at Bet el-Walli beside the Pharaoh's throne (*ibid.*, 62); and finally at Derr in two scenes (*LD.*, III, 183*b* and 184*a*, and CHAMP., *Not. Descr.*, I, 90), where the king is sacrificing prisoners to Amonre. In these last scenes he is accompanied by the inscription: "The lion, follower of his majesty, slayer of his enemies," and he is biting one of the prisoners.

[167] CHAMP., *Mon.*, 25; ROSELL., *Mon. stor.*, 87.

[168] *Mar. Ab.*, Vol. II, p. 10.

[169] Publication has "his."

[170] *Voyage dans la haute Égypte*, Vol. I, p. 72.

[171] On the outside of the south wall of the great hypostyle hall. The plate is drawn from a photograph taken by Borchardt. More could doubtless be seen on the wall itself, and doubtless further traces could be found outside of the limits of this photograph.

AA Egyptian stabbing an Asiatic before Ramses's tent.
BB Guard in the council scene, lower row.
CC Beating of the Asiatic scouts.
DD Bowing officials before Ramses.
EE Head and shoulders of Ramses as seated on his throne.
FF Charioteer before him; part of felloe of chariot wheel in skirt of charioteer's garment.
GG Traces of sunshade-bearers behind Ramses.
HH Legs and feet from line of Shardana of the guard.

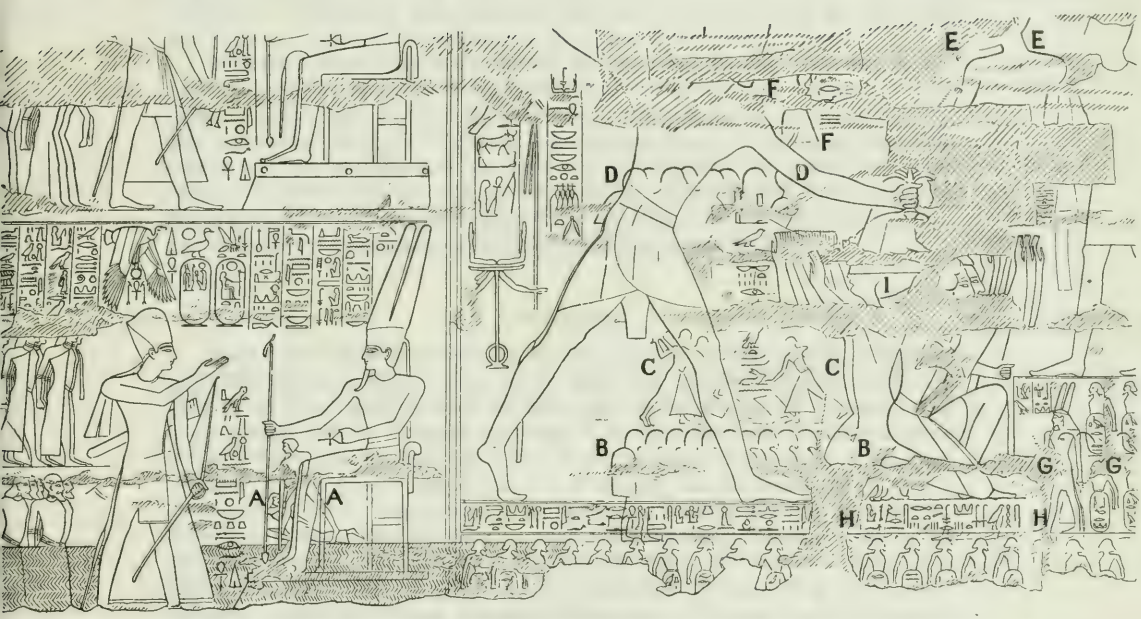
Below is the line of water also found at the Ramesseum and Abydos. The only variation from Luxor is that the council scene in the tent was here on the right of the camp, instead of on the left as at Luxor.[172] But it is clear that the same incidents which we find in all the others, filled this last series. These Kadesh scenes seem to have commonly suffered alterations. Besides the total erasure of the above Karnak series, the photographs show that the camp at Luxor was placed over Ramses's charge; and the charge on the first pylon at the Ramesseum is cut over an earlier one placed much higher. It was evidently filled with cement, which has now fallen out, leaving the original lines so clear and deep that Weidenbach saw and sketched them (in Plate II), and they are clearly visible in a photograph.

The Poem claims that Ramses renewed the action the next morning (ll. 92 ff.), describes the battle in brief, vague, and purely conventional terms, representing Ramses as victorious, and then states that the Hittite king sued for peace in a humble letter to Ramses. Thereupon Ramses assembled his officers, proudly read to them the letter, and returned in triumph to Egypt. To none of these alleged events of the next day do the Record or the reliefs[173] make the slightest reference, and the narrative of them bears all the ear-marks of scribal flattery. The whole incident may have found its source in the fact that Ramses drew up a body of his troops to cover his retreat in the morning, and that they may have had to protect the rear from harassing by Hittite pursuers. However this may be, Ramses's immediate retreat to the south, admitted by the Poem (ll. 87, 88), is clear evidence that he was too crippled to continue the campaign further. The Hittite king may possibly have proposed a cessation of hostilities, but this is doubtful.[174] To state that in the battle of the second day he

[172] This is on the supposition that the figures AA belong in the camp by Ramses's tent, as in the other reliefs; but they might also be a pair from the hand-to-hand struggle in the lower right-hand corner at Luxor (Plate V). In that case the arrangement is exactly as at Luxor.

[173] MASPERO's reference (*Struggle*, p. 394) of the scene of Ramses's charge to the second day's battle is impossible. This scene, as above noted, shows Ramses alone, surrounded by Asiatic chariotry, a predicament in which he found himself only in the first day's battle. To suppose that such a situation occurred in the second day's battle is not only absurd, but is flatly contradicted by the accompanying inscriptions, which place it in the first day's battle, when the southern troops had not yet come up.

[174] MÜLLER (*Asien*, p. 216, n. 1) would refer this event to the treaty of peace in the year 21, explaining its presence in the Poem by the theory that we have only a later redaction of the Poem, in which the scribe, overlooking the interval, has attached the peace compact directly to the battle of Kadesh. The objection to this is that there is no statement of a treaty in the letter. The Hittite king's letter only avers, with the usual oriental flattery, that they are the servants of Pharaoh, and begs him to slay no more of his servants. This may be based on a proposal by the Hittite king of a cessation of hostilities.



Palimpsest Wall Showing Later Reliefs Cut over Kadesh Series; Outside South Wall of Great Hypostyle, Karnak
(From a photograph by Borchardt)

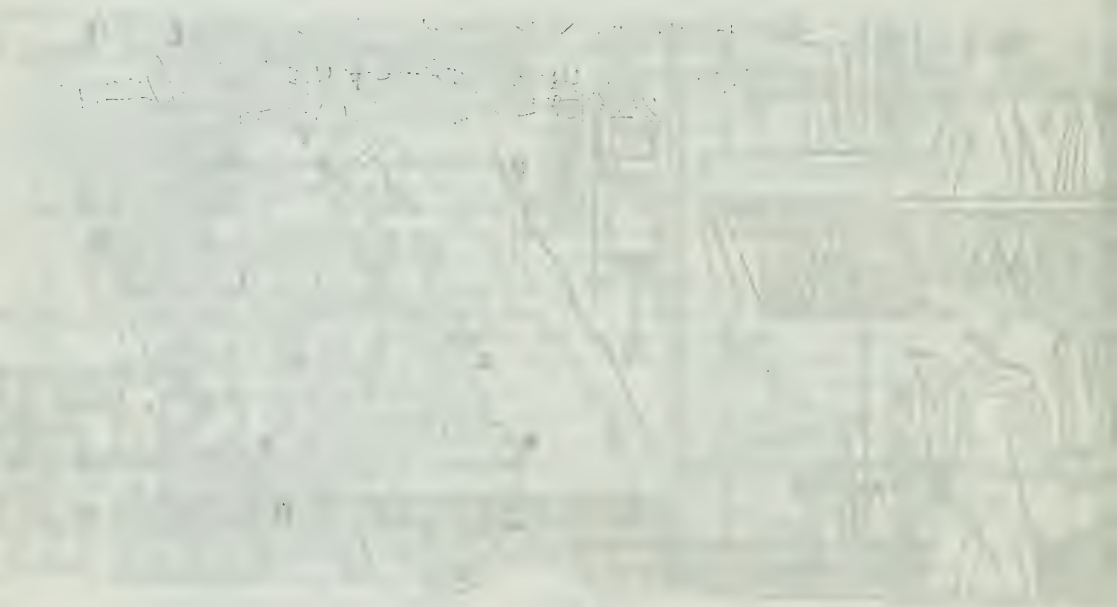


Figure VII. Showing Lime Drain Cut into Kansas Shale Overlying Stone Wall on Farm Hutchinson, Kan.
(From a photograph by Hoover.)

"was on the point of perishing,"[175] or to refer to "the surrender of Qodshu"[176] (Kadesh) is pure romancing. For the first statement there is not a particle of evidence; and not even the Poem has the face to claim that Kadesh was captured. For sixteen years after this battle, Ramses was obliged to maintain incessant campaigning in Syria, in order to stop the Hittite advance and wring from them a peace on equal terms. Meantime he evidently found compensation in the fame which his exploit at Kadesh brought him, for he had it recorded in splendid reliefs on all his greater temples and assumed among his titles in his royal titulary the proud epithet: "Prostrater of the lands and countries, while he was alone, having no other with him."[177]

However confused our knowledge of the latter half of this battle may be, the movements which led up to it are determined clearly and with certainty. These movements show that already in the fourteenth century B. C. the commanders of the time understood the value of placing troops advantageously before battle; that they further already comprehended the immense superiority to be gained by clever maneuvers masked from the enemy; and that they had therefore, even at this remote date, made contributions to that supposed science, which was brought to such perfection by Napoleon—the science of winning the victory before the battle.

ADDENDUM

Since I read the above essay at the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists (in September, 1902), Professor Petrie's note on the battle has appeared (*PSBA.*, December, 1902, pp. 317 f.). As there has been much delay in the printing of my essay owing to my absence since the Congress in Europe, I am here able to add Professor Petrie's note to the bibliography above (pp. 4, 5). I see that we are in agreement on the flank movement of the Asiatics around the city of Kadesh; but the location of the city in the lake is, I think, clearly refuted by the evidence above adduced (pp. 13–21). There is no evidence that the king turned back to the flying division of Re; on the contrary, the sources state that the fleeing division of Re "fled northward to the place where his majesty was" (No. 25), and the reliefs show the fugitives as they reached the camp. Again the onset of Ramses is designated: "The stand which his majesty made, while he was camping on the northwest of Kadesh." He would not have been on the "northwest of Kadesh," while making this "stand," if he had turned back to the division of Re. Furthermore, I know of nothing in the sources upon which Professor Petrie's account of Ramses's pursuit of the enemy around the southwest end of the lake, and northeastward to Ḥomṣ, could be based. It would, in the first place—putting Ramses's camp on the northwest of the island[178] (see Map III)—involve a

[175] MASPERO, *Struggle*, p. 394. [176] *Ibid.*, p. 395. [178] In accordance with Professor Petrie's location of the city on the island.

[177] Around a column in the Ramesseum, SHARPE, *Eg. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 53.

march of twenty-one or twenty-two miles to reach camp, immediately followed by a hard battle and a pursuit of some nineteen miles all in one day! This physical impossibility and the lack of all support for it in the inscriptions,[179] force me to differ with my friend, Professor Petrie, on this point. That my own account of the outcome of the battle is quite unsatisfying, I am perfectly aware, but for this the sources are responsible; and I do not think that more can be safely drawn from them. But I am glad to see that we at least agree on the important initial flank movement by the Asiatics.

[179] I can only suppose that Professor Petrie has drawn his theory from the reliefs.

The Modern Mound of Kadesh

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF AMOS

PREFATORY NOTE

An effort has been made in the paper that follows to present the text of Amos with special reference to (1) its strophic structure; (2) the separation of later additions; (3) such modifications of the text as a conservative criticism would approve.

The justification of the modifications here presented and of the divisions suggested is furnished in the author's *Amos and Hosea* ("International Critical Commentary," 1904), where will be found also a presentation of the views of others upon the logical or strophic structure. The general scheme of Amos, as given here, was first presented in *The Biblical World*, Vol. XII (1898), pp. 86–89, 179–182, 251–256, 333–338.

In those cases of verbal modification which are supported by other students of the text the principal authorities have been cited.

The translation is intended to follow closely the Hebrew idiom, and, inasmuch as it was important to have it correspond line for line, the idiom is sometimes, perhaps, more Hebraic than English.

The original text of the prophecy is printed in large type, explanatory glosses and other later additions being in small type on the margin. The place of the gloss in the Massoretic text is indicated by a star (*), except (*a*) where the gloss is an entire clause, or verse, and therefore receives a verse number as in the main text, and (*b*) within later additions where the glosses are inclosed in parentheses. Square brackets are employed to indicate words or phrases supposed to have been lost from the Massoretic text.

The following abbreviations are employed: 𝔐𝔗 = The Massoretic text. 𝔊 = The Septuagint version. 𝔙 = The Vulgate. 𝔗 = The Targum. 𝔖 = The Peshitto.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF AMOS

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

§1. THE SUPERSCRIPTION, 1:1

דברי עמוס (אשר־היה
בנקדים) מתקוע אשר
חזה על־ישראל בימי
עזיה מלך־יהודה ובימי
ירבעם בן־יואש מלך
ישראל שנתים לפני
הרעש:

§2. THE TEXT, OR MOTTO, OF THE BOOK, 1

(ויאמר)
יהוה מציון ישאג
ומירושלם יתן קולו
ואבלו נאות הרעים
ויבש ראש הכרמל:

§3. APPROACHING JUDGMENTS UPON THE SURROUNDING NATIONS, 1:3—2:5

A. JUDGMENT UPON SYRIA, 1:3-5

I 1:3 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי דמשק
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־דושם בחרצות הברזל
את־הגלעד:

II 4 ושלחתי אש בבית־חזאל
ואכלה ארמנות בן־הדד:
5 ושברתי בריח דמשק

III והכרתי יושב מבקעת־און
ותומך שבט מבית־עדן
וגלו עם־ארם קירה*

*אמר יהוה

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF AMOS

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER

§1. THE SUPERSCRIPTION, 1:1

The words of Amos (who had been among the shepherds) of Tekoa which he saw concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah, and in the days of Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel, two years before the earthquake.

§2. THE TEXT, OR MOTTO, OF THE BOOK, 1:2

(And he said)
Yahweh roars from Zion,
And utters his voice from Jerusalem,
And the pastures of the shepherds mourn,
And the top of Carmel withers.

§3. APPROACHING JUDGMENTS UPON THE SURROUNDING NATIONS. 1:3—2:5

A. JUDGMENT UPON SYRIA, 1:3-5

I 1:3 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of Damascus,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because they have threshed with threshing instruments of iron
Gilead.

II 4 And I will send a fire in the house of Hazael,
And it shall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad;
5 And I will break the bars of Damascus.

III And I will cut off the inhabitant from the valley of Aven,
And the scepter-holder from Beth-Eden;
And the people of Aram shall go into captivity to Kir.*

*Has Yahweh said.

B. JUDGMENT UPON PHILISTIA, 1:6-8

I 6 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי עזה
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־הגלותם גלות שלמה
להסגיר לאדום:

II 7 ושלחתי אש בחומת־עזה
ואכלה ארמנתיה:
8 c והשיבותי ידי על־עקרון

III 8 a, b והכרתי יושב מאשדוד
ותומך שבט מאשקלון
8 d ואבדו שארית פלשתים

8 e אמר אדני יהוה:

C. JUDGMENT UPON TYRE, 1:9, 10

I 9 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי צר
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־הסגירם גלות שלמה
לאדום
ולא זכרו ברית אחים:

II 10 ושלחתי אש בחומת־
צר
ואכלה ארמנותיה

D. JUDGMENT UPON EDOM, 1:11, 12

I 11 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי אדום
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־רדפו בחרב אחיו
(ושחת רחמיו)
ויִטֹּר[1] לעד אפו
(ועברתו שמרה נצח:)

II 12 ושלחתי אש בתימן
ואכלה ארמנות בצרה:

[1] MT ויטרף; as above S, V, OLSHAUSEN (on Ps. 103:9), GRAETZ, WELLHAUSEN, GUTHE, DRIVER, ELHORST, OETTLI (*Amos und Hosea*, 1901), OORT (*Emendationes*), HIRSCHT (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 11-73).

B. JUDGMENT UPON PHILISTIA, 1:6-8

I	6	Thus has Yahweh said: For three transgressions of Gaza, Yea, for four, I will not revoke it; Because they carried into complete captivity, To deliver them up to Edom.
II	7	And I will send a fire in the wall of Gaza, And it shall devour her palaces;
	8 *c*	And I will turn my hand against Ekron;
III	8 *a, b*	And I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, And the scepter-holder from Askelon,
	8 *d*	And the remnant of the Philistines shall perish.*

*The Lord Yahweh has said.

C. JUDGMENT UPON TYRE, 1:9, 10

I 9 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of Tyre,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because they carried into complete captivity to Edom,
And did not remember the brotherly covenant.

II 10 And I will send a fire in the wall of Tyre,
And it shall devour her palaces.

D. JUDGMENT UPON EDOM, 1:11, 12

I 11 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of Edom,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because he pursued his brother with the sword,
(And destroyed his compassion)
And cherished his anger perpetually,
(And kept his anger forever).

II 12 And I will send a fire in Teman,
And it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.

E. JUDGMENT UPON AMMON, 1:13-15

I 13 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי בני־עמון
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־בקעם הרות הגלעד
למען הרחיב את־גבולם:

II 14 והצתי אש בחומת־רבה
ואכלה ארמנותיה
בתרועה ביום מלחמה* *בסער ביום סופה:

III 15 והלך מלכם בגולה
הוא ושריו יחדו
אמר יהוה

F. JUDGMENT UPON MOAB, 2:1-3

I 2: 1 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי מואב
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על שרפו עצמות מלך־אדום
2 c לְשִׂיד[2] הַמֵּת בשאון־מואב

II 2 a, b ושלחתי אש במואב
ואכלה ארמנות הקריות
2 d בתרועה בקול שופר

III 3 והכרתי שופט מקרבה
וכל־שריה אהרוג עמו
אמר יהוה

G. JUDGMENT UPON JUDAH, 2:4, 5

I 2:4 כה אמר יהוה
על־שלשה פשעי יהוד
ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו
על־מאסם את־תורת
יהוה
וחקיו לא שמרו
(ויתעום כזביהם
אשר הלכו אבותם
אחריהם:)

II 5 ושלחתי אש ביהודה
ואכלה ארמנות ירושלם:

[2] 𝔐𝔊𝔗 לַשִּׂיד; for above reading see my "Amos and Hosea" (*International Critical Commentary* 4), p. 38.

E. JUDGMENT UPON AMMON, 1:13–15

I 13 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of the children of Ammon,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because they have ripped up the women with child
of Gilead,
That they might enlarge their border.

II 14 But I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah,
And it shall devour her palaces,
With shouting in the day of battle,*

* With a storm in the day of tempest.

III 15 And their king shall go into exile,
He and his princes together;
Yahweh has said.

F. JUDGMENT UPON MOAB, 2:1-3

I 2: 1 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of Moab,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because they burned the bones of the king of Edom,
2 *c* In order to desecrate the dead on account of violence
done to Moab.

II 2 *a*, *b* But I will send a fire in Moab,
And it shall devour the palaces of Keryyoth,
2 *d* With shouting, with the sound of trumpet.

III 3 And I will cut off the judge from the midst of her,
And all her princes I will slay along with him;
Yahweh has said.

G. JUDGMENT UPON JUDAH, 2:4, 5

I 2:4 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of
Judah,
Yea, for four, I will not
revoke it;
Because they have rejected
the law of Yahweh,
And have not observed his
statutes.
(And their lies have caused
them to err,
After which their father
walked.)

II 5 But I will send a fire in
Judah,
And it shall devour the
palaces of Jerusalem.

§4. JUDGMENT AGAINST THE NATION ISRAEL, 2:6–16

A. THE INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION IN ISRAEL, 2:6-8

I	2:6	כה אמר יהוה על־שלשה פשעי ישראל ועל־ארבעה לא אשיבנו על־מכרם בכסף צדיק ואביון בעבור נעלים:
II	8	ועל־בגדים חבלים ינטו אצל כל מזבח ויין ענושים ישתו בית אלהיהם:
III	7	הַשֹּׁאֲפִים[3]* בראש דלים ודרך ענוים יטו ואיש ואביו ילכו אל־הַנַּעֲרָה[4] למען חלל את־שם קדשי:

*על־עפר־ארץ

B. THE EFFORTS MADE BY YAHWEH TO BUILD UP ISRAEL, 2:9-12

I	2:10	ואנכי העליתי אתכם מארץ מצרים ואולך אתכם במדבר ארבעים שנה [ואביאכם הנה][5] לרשת את־ארץ האמרי:
II	9	ואנכי השמדתי את־האמרי מפניהם אשר כגבה־ארזים גבהו וחסן־הוא כאלונים ואשמיד פריו ממעל ושרשיו מתחת:
III	11 *a*	ואקים מבניכם לנביאים ומבחוריכם לנזרים
	12	ותשקו את־הנזרים יין ועל־הנביאים צויתם*
	11 *b*	האם אין־זאת בני ישראל נאם־יהוה:

*לאמר לא תנבאו:

[3] MT הַשֹּׁאֲפִים; as above G, S, V, and BAUR, WELLHAUSEN, GRAETZ, NOWACK, TORREY (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, p. 151), G. A. SMITH, and LÖHR (*Untersuchungen z. Buch Amos*, 1901).

[4] MT הַנַּעֲרָה; as above, HOFFMANN, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. III, pp. 99 ff.

[5] These words are found in S.

§4. JUDGMENT AGAINST THE NATION ISRAEL, 2:6–16

A. THE INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION IN ISRAEL, 2:6–8

I 2: 6 Thus has Yahweh said:
For three transgressions of Israel,
Yea, for four, I will not revoke it;
Because they sell the righteous for money,
And the needy for a pair of shoes.

II 8 And because garments taken in pledge they spread out
Beside every altar,
And the wine of such as have been fined they drink,
In the houses of their gods.

III 7 Who crush the head of the poor,*
And the way of the humble they turn aside,
And a man and his judge deal according to agreement,
And so profane my holy name.

*to the dust of the earth.

B. THE EFFORTS MADE BY YAHWEH TO BUILD UP ISRAEL, 2:9–12

I 2:10 And yet it was I who brought you up from the land of Egypt,
And led you in the wilderness forty years,
[And brought you hither] to possess the land of the Amorite.

II And it was I who destroyed from before them the Amorite,
Whose height was like that of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks;
But I destroyed his fruit from above and his roots from beneath.

III 11 *a* Moreover I raised up some of your sons for prophets, and some of your youths for nazirites;
12 But ye made the nazirites drink wine, and upon the prophets ye laid prohibition.*
11 *b* Is not this indeed so, O children of Israel? It is the oracle of Yahweh.

*saying, "Ye shall not prophesy."

C. THE IMPENDING CALAMITY, 2:13–16

I	2:13	[לכן] הנה אנכי מעיק תחתיכם כאשר תעיק העגלה המלאה לה עמיר:
II	14	ואבד מנוס מקל וחזק לא־יאמץ כחו וגבור לא־ימלט נפשו: ותפש הקשת לא־יעמד
	15 *a*	
III	15 *b*	וקל ברגליו לא־יִמָּלֵט[6] ואמיץ לבו בגבורים וְעָרוּם[7] לא־ימלט נפשו ורכב־הסוס ינוס ביום־ההוא* *נאם־יהוה:
	16 *a*	
	15 *c*	
	16 *b*	

§ 5. THE ROAR OF THE LION; DESTRUCTION IS COMING, 3:1–8

I	3:1	שמעו את־הדבר־הזה אשר־דבר יהוה עליכם* *בני ישראל על־כל־המשפחה אשר העליתי מארץ־מצרים לאמר:
II	2	רק אתכם ידעתי מכל־משפחות האדמה * * * * * * * * על־כן אפקד עליכם את כל־עונתיכם:
	3	הילכו שנים יחדו בלתי אם־נועדו:
III	4	הישאג אריה ביער וטרף אין לו היתן כפיר קולו ממעונתו בלתי אם־לכד
	5	התפל צפור על־פְּנֵי[8] הארץ ומוקש אין לה היעלה־פח מן־האדמה ולכוד לא ילכוד:

[6] 𝔐𝔗 וְיִמָּלֵט; as above, 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔗, 𝔙, HITZIG, GRAETZ, NOWACK, DRIVER, ELHORST, OORT, OETTLI, HIRSCHT, *et al.*

[7] 𝔐𝔗 עָרוֹם; for above reading see *Amos and Hosea*, p. 63.

[8] 𝔐𝔗 פַּח; as above, 𝔊 and PERLES, *Analekten zur Text-Kritik des Alten Testaments*, 1895.

C. THE IMPENDING CALAMITY, 2:13-16

I 2:13	Therefore, behold, it is I Who will make you groan in your places, Just as the threshing-wagon makes groan (The floor) filled with sheaves.	
II 14	Then shall refuge fail the swift, And the strong shall not strengthen his force, And the warrior shall not deliver himself,	
15 *a*	And he that handles the bow shall not stand.	
III 15 *b*	And the swift of foot shall not rescue himself,	
16 *a*	And the stoutest of heart among the warriors;	
15 *c*	And the skilled shall not deliver himself,	
16 *b*	And he that rideth a horse shall flee away in that day.*	*It is the oracle of Yahweh.

§ 5. THE ROAR OF THE LION; DESTRUCTION IS COMING, 3:1-8

I 3: 1	Hear this word which Yahweh has spoken against you,*	*O children of Israel,
	Against the whole family that I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying,	
II 2	You only have I known of all the families of the earth, [But you have forsaken and rejected Yahweh, your God;] Therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities;	
3	Can two walk together if they be not agreed?	
III 4	Does a lion roar in the forest when there is no prey for him? Does a young lion utter his voice from his den unless he has taken something?	
5	Does a bird fall upon the ground if there is no hunter? Does a snare fly up from the ground without catching anything?	

IV 6 אם־יתקע שופר בעיר ועם לא־יחרדו
אם־תהיה רעה בעיר ויהוה לא־עשה׃
7 כי לא־יעשה אדני יהוה דבר
כי־אם גלה סודו אל־עבדיו הנביאים׃

V 8 אריה שאג מי לא יירא
אדני יהוה דבר מי לא־ינבא׃

§6. THE DOOM OF SAMARIA, 3:9—4:3

I 3: 9 השמיעו על־ארמנות באשדוד ועל־ארמנות בארץ
מצרים* *ואמרו
האספו על־הַר[9]־שמרון וראו מהומת רבות בתוכה* *ועשוקים בקרבה
10 ולא־ידעו עשות נכחה נאם יהוה
האצרים חמס ושד בארמנותיהם׃

II 11 לכן כה־אמר אדני יהוה צר־יְסֹבֵב[10] הארץ
והורד ממך עזך ונבזו ארמנותיך׃
15 והכיתי בית החרף על־בית הקיץ
ואבדו בתי־השן וספו בתים רבים* *נאם־יהוה

III 12 כה־אמר יהוה כאשר יציל הרעה
מפי־הארי שתי כרעים או בדל־אזן
כן ינצלו בני־ישראל הישבים בשמרון
בפאת מטה ובדמשק ערש׃

[9] 𝔐𝔗 הָרֵי; as above, 𝔊, 𝔖, Syro-Hexaplar, OORT (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, Vol. XIV, p. 129), WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, G. A. SMITH, LÖHR, ELHORST, OETTLI, BAUMANN (*Der Aufbau der Amos-Reden*, 1903), and MARTI (*Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, 1903).

[10] 𝔐𝔗 וּסְבִיב; as above, 𝔖, and STEINER, GUNNING, SEBÖK, WELLHAUSEN, GRAETZ, VALETON, NOWACK, DRIVER, LÖHR, ELHORST, HIRSCHT, OETTLI, MARTI.

IV 6 Can a trumpet be sounded in a city and the people not tremble?
Can evil happen in a city and Yahweh not have caused it?
7 But the Lord Yahweh does nothing,
Except he reveal his purpose to his servants the prophets.

V 8 The lion has roared; who is there that does not fear?
The Lord Yahweh has spoken; who is it that cannot prophesy?

§6. THE DOOM OF SAMARIA, 3:9—4:3

I 3: 9 Proclaim over the palaces in Ashdod, and over the palaces in the land of Egypt:* *and say
Gather ye upon the mountain of Samaria, and see the manifold tumults therein;* *and the oppressions within her.
10 And how they know not to do good, it is the oracle of Yahweh,
These who treasure violence and oppression in their palaces.

II 11 Therefore, thus has the Lord Yahweh said: An adversary shall surround the land,
And he shall strip from thee thy strength, and thy palaces shall be plundered;
15 And I will smite the winter house together with the summer house,
And the houses of ivory shall perish, yea many houses shall cease.* *It is the oracle of Yahweh.

III 12 Thus has Yahweh said: As the shepherd rescues,
From the mouth of the lion, two legs or a piece of an ear,
So the children of Israel shall be rescued, they who dwell in Samaria
In the corner of a couch, in the damask of a divan.

IV 13 שמעו והעידו בבית־יעקב*
14 כי ביום פקדי פשעי־ישראל עליו
ופקדתי על מזבחות ביתאל
ונגדעו קרנות המזבח ונפלו לארץ:

*נאם (אדני) יהוה (אלהי הצבאות):

V 4: 1 שמעו הדבר הזה פרות הבשן
אשר [ישבו] בהר שמרון
העשקות דלים הרצצות אביונים
האמרות לאדניהם הביאה ונשתה:

VI 2 נשבע אדני יהוה בקדשו
כי הנה ימים באים עליכם
ונשא אתכם בצנות ואחריתכן בסירות־דוגה
3 ופרצים תצאנה* וְהָשְׁלַכְתֶּן[11] ההרמונה:†

*אשה נגדה †נאם־יהוה

§7. ISRAEL'S FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS, 4:4-13

I 4: 4 באו ביתאל ופשעו
הגלגל הרבו לפשע
והביאו לבקר זבחיכם
לשלשת ימים מעשרתיכם:

II 5 וקטר מחמץ תודה
וקראו נדבות השמיעו
כי־כן אהבתם בני־ישראל
נאם אדני יהוה:

III 6 וגם־אני נתתי לכם
נקיון שנים בכל־עריכם
וחסר לחם בכל־מקומתיכם
ולא־שבתם עדי נאם־יהוה:

[11] MT וְהִשְׁלַכְתֶּנָה; as above, 𝔊, 𝔙, and HITZIG.

IV 13 Hear ye and testify against the house of Jacob,*
That in the day when I visit the transgressions of Israel upon him,
I will inflict punishment upon the altars of Beth-el,
And the horns of the altar shall be cut off and fall to the ground.

*it is the oracle of (the Lord) Yahweh (God of Hosts).

V 4: 1 Hear this word, ye kine of Bashan,
Who [dwell] in the mountain of Samaria,
Who injure the poor, and crush the needy,
Who say to their husbands, bring that we may drink.

VI 2 The Lord Yahweh has sworn by his holiness:
Behold days are coming upon you,
And ye shall be taken with hooks, even the last of you with fish-hooks,
3 And through breaches ye shall go forth,* and ye shall be cast toward Harmon.*

*each woman straight before her.
*it is the oracle of Yahweh.

§ 7. ISRAEL'S FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THE DIVINE JUDGMENTS, 4:4–13

I 4: 4 Go ye to Bethel and transgress,
In Gilgal increase transgression,
And bring every morning your sacrifices,
Every third day your tithes.

II 5 And burn of leavened bread a thank-offering,
And proclaim free-will offerings, make them known,
For so ye love to do, O children of Israel;
It is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh.

III 6 I also it was who gave to you
Cleanness of teeth in all your cities,
And lack of bread in all your places,
But ye did not return unto me; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

IV	7 *a*	וגם־אנכי מנעתי מכם את־הגשם*
		והמטרתי על־עיר אחת
		ועל־עיר אחת לא אמטיר
	8 *b*	ולא־שבתם עדי נאם־יהוה
V	9	הכיתי אתכם בשדפון ובירקון
		הַרְבֹּת[12] גנותיכם וכרמיכם
		ותאנתיכם וזיתיכם יאכל הגזם
		ולא־שבתם עדי נאם־יהוה:
VI	10	שלחתי בכם דבר בדרך־מצרים
		הרגתי בחרב בחוריכם*
		ואעלה באש מחניכם באפכם[13]
		ולא־שבתם עדי נאם־יהוה:
VII	11	הפכתי בכם * * * * *
		כמהפכת אלהים את־סדם ואת־עמרה
		ותהיו כאוד מצל משרפה
		ולא־שבתם עדי נאם־יהוה:
VIII	12 *a*	לכן כה אעשה־לך ישראל
	13 *e*	יהוה אלהי־צבאות שמו
	12 *b, c*	עקב כי־זאת אעשה־לך
		הכון לקראת־אלהיך ישראל:

*בעוד שלשה חדשים לקציר

7 *b* חלקה אחת תמטר
וחלקה אשר לא תמטיר
8 *a* עליה תיבש: ונעו
שתים שלש ערים אל־
עיר אחת לשתות מים
ולא ישבעו

*עם שבי סוסיכם

13 כי הנה יוצר הרים
וברא רוח
ומגיד לאדם מה־שחו
עשה שחר עיפה
ודרך על־במתי ארץ

§8. A DIRGE ANNOUNCING ISRAEL'S COMING DESTRUCTION, 5:1–6, 8, 9

I	5: 1	שמעו את־הדבר הזה
		אשר־אנכי נשא עליכם
		קינה בית ישראל:
	3 *a*	כי כה־אמר אדני יהוה

[12] 𝔐𝔗 הַרְבוֹת; as above, WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, LÖHR, BAUMANN, and MARTI.

[13] 𝔐𝔗, ובאפכם; as above, 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔙, AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and WELLHAUSEN, GRAETZ, NOWACK, LÖHR, HIRSCHT, OETTLI, HALÉVY (*Revue sémitique*, Vol. XI, p. 18), BAUMANN.

IV 7 *a* I also it was who withheld from you the rain,*
And I sent rain on one city,
While upon another city I sent not rain;*
8 *b* But ye did not return unto me; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

*while yet there remained three months to the harvest.

*7 *b* One field being rained upon and another field, which was not rained upon, drying up; (*8a*) two or three cities staggering unto one city to drink water without being satisfied.

V 9 I smote you with blight and decay,
I laid waste your gardens and vineyards;
Your fig-trees and olive-trees the locust devoured;
But ye did not return unto me; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

VI 10 I sent among you the pestilence after the manner of Egypt;
I slew your young men with the sword;*
And I caused the stench of your camps to rise in your nostrils;
But ye did not return unto me; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

*together with the captivity of your horses.

VII 11 I overthrew among you * * * * *
As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah;
And ye were as a brand snatched from the blaze;
But ye did not return unto me; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

VIII 12 *a* Therefore thus will I do to thee, O Israel,
13 *c* Yahweh, God of hosts, is his name;
12 *b, c* Because I will do this to thee,
Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel.

13 *a-d.* For, lo! he forms the mountains and creates the wind,
And he tells man what is his thought;
He makes dawn darkness,
And treads upon the heights of the earth.

§ 8. A DIRGE ANNOUNCING ISRAEL'S COMING DESTRUCTION, 5:1-6, 8, 9

I 5: 1 Hear this word
Which I take up against you,
Even a dirge, O house of Israel;
3 *a* For thus has said the Lord Yahweh:

II 2 נפלה לא־תוסיף קום
בתולת ישראל
נטשה על אדמתה
אין מקימה:

III 3 b העיר היצאת אלף
תשאיר מאה
והיוצאת מאה לבית־ישראל
תשאיר עשרה

IV 4 כי כה־אמר יהוה
לבית ישראל
דרשוני וחיו:
5 c ובאר־שבע לא תעברו

V 5 a, b ואל תדרשו ביתאל
והגלגל לא תבאו
5 d, e כי הגלגל גלה יגלה
וביתאל יהיה לאון:

VI 6 [ועתה בית ישראל]
דרשו את־יהוה וחיו
פן־יִשַׁלַּח אֵשׁ בְּבֵית[14]־יוסף*
ואין מכבה לביתאל:

*ואכלה

8 f **** יהוה שמו
8 a–c עשה כימה וכסיל
והפך לבקר צלמות
ויום לְלַיְלָה[15] החשיך

8 d, e הקורא למי הים
וישפכם על־פני הארץ
9 המבליג שֶׁבֶר[16] על־עז
ושד על־מבצר יָבִיא:[17]

[14] MT יִצְלַח כָּאֵשׁ בֵּית; as above, WELLHAUSEN, ELHORST, LÖHR, and GUNNING (*Theologische Studien*, Vol. XVIII, p. 221).

[15] MT לַיְלָה; as above in many codices, and so DATHE, MITCHELL, OORT, and ELHORST.

[16] MT שד; as above, 𝔊, and EWALD, HITZIG, OORT, GRAETZ, G. A. SMITH, NOWACK, OETTLI, MARTI.

[17] MT יָבוֹא; as above, 𝔊, 𝔙, 𝔖, 𝔗, and VATER, OORT, HOFFMANN, G. A. SMITH, NOWACK, ELHORST, OETTLI, HALÉVY, MARTI.

II	2	She shall fall not to rise again, The virgin Israel; She shall be hurled down upon her own soil, With none to raise her up,—
III	3 *b*	The city that goeth forth a thousand Having but a hundred left; And she that goeth forth a hundred of the house of Israel Having but ten left.
IV	4	For thus said Yahweh To the house of Israel, Seek me and live,
	5 *c*	But to Beersheba ye shall not cross over.
V	5 *a*, *b*	And do not seek Bethel, And Gilgal ye shall not enter,
	5 *d*, *e*	For Gilgal shall surely go into exile And Bethel shall become [Beth]-aven
VI	6	[And now, O house of Israel] Seek Yahweh and live, Lest he cast fire on Joseph's house* And there be none to quench it for Bethel.

*and it devour

8 *f* * * * * whose name is Yahweh,
8 *a*–*c* The Creator of the Pleiades and Orion,
Who turneth deep gloom into morning,
And day into night darkeneth,

8 *d*, *e* Who calleth the waters of the sea,
And poureth them on the face of the earth,
9 Who causeth violence to burst upon the strong,
And causeth devastation to come upon the fortress.

§ 9. TRANSGRESSORS SHALL COME TO GRIEF, 5:7, 10-17

I 5: 7 ההפכים ללענה משפט
וצדקה לארץ הניחו׃
10 שנאו בשער מוכיח
ודבר תמים יתעבו׃
11 לכן יען־בּוּסְכֶם[18] על־דל
ומשאת־בר תקחו ממנו
בתי גזית בניתם
ולא תשבו בם
כרמי חמד נטעתם
ולא תשתו את־יינם׃

II 12 כי־ידעתי רבים פשעיכם
ועצמים חטאיכם[19]
צררי צדיק לקחי כפר
ואביונים בשער הטו׃
13 לכן המשכיל בעת־ההיא ידם
כי עת רעה היא׃
14 דרשו טוב ואל־רע
למען תחיו
ויהי־כן יהוה אלהי צבאות
אתכם כאשר אמרתם׃

III 15 שנאו רע ואהבו טוב
והציגו בשער משפט
אולי יחנן יהוה
אלהי־צבאות שארית יוסף׃
16 לכן כה אמר יהוה* *אלהי צבאות
אֲרֻנִין[20] בכל־רחבות מספד
ובכל־חוצות יאמרו הו־הו
וקראו אכר אל־אבל* *ואל מספד[21] יודעי נהי׃
17 ובכל כרמים מספד
כי אעבר בקרבך אמר יהוה׃

[18] MT בּוֹשַׁסְכֶם; as above, OETTLI; *cf.* WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, ELHORST, CHEYNE (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 155), and LÖHR.

[19] MT חטאתיכם; as above, WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, LÖHR, OETTLI.

[20] MT אֲדֹנָי; for above reading see *Amos and Hosea*, p. 124.

[21] MT ומספד אל; as above, 𝔙, 𝔖, and OORT, WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, GRAETZ, OETTLI, ELHORST.

§ 9. TRANSGRESSORS SHALL COME TO GRIEF, 5:7, 10–17

I 5: 7 They who turn judgment to wormwood,
And cast righteousness to the ground,
10 Who hate him that reproveth in the gate,
And one who speaks uprightly they abhor,—
11 Therefore, because ye trample upon the meek,
And take from him exactions of grain,
Houses of hewn stone ye have built,
But ye shall not dwell in them,
Vineyards of delight ye have planted,
But ye shall not drink their wine.

II 12 Surely I know that many are your transgressions,
And great are your sins;
Persecutors of the righteous, takers of bribes!
Yea, the needy in the gate they thrust aside.
13 Therefore, since the prudent man at such a time is keeping silence,
It is surely an evil time.
14 Seek good and not evil,
That ye may live;
That so may be Yahweh, God of hosts,
With you, as ye have said.

III 15 Hate evil and love good,
And establish justice in the gate;
Perhaps, Yahweh may be gracious,
The God of hosts, to a remnant of Joseph.
16 Therefore thus has Yahweh* said,
I will cause shouting in all squares for mourning,
And in all streets they shall say, Woe! Woe!
And the husbandman shall summon to mourning:*
17 Yea, in all vineyards there shall be mourning,
When I pass through the midst of thee, has Yahweh said.

*God of hosts

*And unto wailing those skilled in lamentation

§ 10. THE DOOM OF CAPTIVITY, 5:18—6:14

A. A WOE UPON THOSE WHO PRAY FOR YAHWEH'S DAY, 5:18-27

I	5:18	הוי המתאוים את־יום־יהוה*	*למה־זה לכם יום יהוה
		הוא חשך ולא אור:	
	19	כאשר־ינוס איש מפני־הארי ופגעו הדב	
		ובא־הבית וסמך ידו על־הקיר ונשכו הנחש:	
	20	הלא־חשך יום יהוה ולא־אור	
		ואפל ולא־נגה לו:	
II	21	שנאתי מאסתי חגיכם	
		ולא אריח בעצרתיכם:	
	22	כי אם־תעלו־לי עלות ומנחתיכם לא־ארצה*	*ושלם מריאיכם לא אביט:
	23	הסר מעלי המון־שריך וזמרת־נבליך*	*לא אשמע:
	24	ויגל כמים משפט	
		וצדקה כנחל איתן:	
III	25	הזבחים ומנחה הגשתם־לי במדבר	
		ארבעים שנה בית־ישראל:	
	26	ונשאתם את־סכּת[22] מלככם	
		ואת־כיון* אלהיכם אשר־עשיתם לכם:	*צלמיכם כוכב
	27	והגלתי אתכם מהלאה לדמשק	
		אמר יהוה אלהי צבאות שמו:	

B. A WOE UPON RECKLESS AND INDIFFERENT SAMARIA, 6:1-7

I	6: 1	הוי השאננים בציון
		והבטחים בהר שמרון
		הנקבים[23] ראשית הגוים
		ובאו[24] להם בית ישראל:
	3	המנדים ליום רע
		ותגשון שבת המס:
	2	עברו כלנה וראו
		ולכו משם חמת רבה
		ורדו גת פלשתים
		הטובים [אתם] מן־
		הממלכות האלה
		אם־רב מגבולם
		גבלם:[25]

[22] MT סכות; as above, G, S, V, SYMMACHUS, and DOZY (*Die Israeliten zu Mekka*, p. 33), SCHMIDT (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIII, p. 8).

[23] MT נקבי; for above reading see *Amos and Hosea*, pp. 141 f.

[24] MT ובאו; as above, S; see *Amos and Hosea*, p. 142.

[25] MT גבולם מגבלם; as above, GEIGER (*Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*), OORT, WELLHAUSEN, VALETON, NOWACK, OETTLI, *et al.*

§ 10. THE DOOM OF CAPTIVITY, 5:18—6:14

A. A WOE UPON THOSE WHO PRAY FOR YAHWEH'S DAY, 5:18-27

I 5:18 Alas for those who long for the day of Yahweh;*
It is darkness, and not light.
19 As when one flees from a lion and a bear meets him,
Or goes into the house, and leans his hand upon the wall, and a serpent bites him.
20 Shall not Yahweh's day be darkness and not light,
Yea, deep darkness without any brightness in it?

*What have ye to do with Yahweh's day?

II 21 I hate, I despise your feasts,
And I will not smell in your festivals.
22 For although ye offer me your burnt-offerings and meal-offerings I will not accept them.*
23 Take away from me the noise of thy songs and the melody of thy lyres;*
24 And let justice roll as waters,
And righteousness as an ever-flowing stream.

*And the peace-offerings of your fatlings I will not regard.

*I will not hear.

III 25 Was it only sacrifices and offerings ye brought me in the wilderness
During forty years, O house of Israel?
26 But now ye lift up the shrine of your king,
And the image* of your God which ye have made for yourselves;
27 And so I will carry you into exile beyond Damascus,
Has said Yahweh, God of hosts is his name.

*your images, the star of

B. A WOE UPON RECKLESS AND INDIFFERENT SAMARIA, 6:1-7

I 6: 1 Alas for those who are careless in Zion,
And reckless in the mount of Samaria,
Who specify themselves the chief of the nations,
And make a prey for themselves of the house of Israel,
3 Who postpone the day of calamity,
And cause the seat of violence to come near.

2. Pass over to Calneh and see,
And go thence to Hamath the great,
And go down to Gath of the Philistines.
Are ye better than these kingdoms?
Is your border greater than was their border?

II 4 השכבים על־מטות שן
וסרחים על ערשותם
ואכלים כרים מצאן
ועגלים מתוך מרבק:
5 הפרטים על־פי הנבל
כדויד חשבו להם כלי־שיר:

III 6 השתים במזרקי יין
וראשית שמנים ימשחו
ולא־נחלו על־שבר יוסף:
7 לכן עתה יגלו בראש גלים
וסר מרזח סרוחים:
8 *b* נאם יהוה אלהי צבאות

C. YAHWEH'S OATH THAT ISRAEL SHALL BE DESTROYED, 6:8-14

I 6:8 *a* נשבע אדני יהוה בנפשו
8 *c-e* מתעב[26] אנכי את־גאון יעקב
וארמנתיו שנאתי
והסגרתי עיר ומלאה:
11 *b, c* והכה הבית הגדול רסיסים
והבית הקטן בקעים:

9 והיה אם־יותרו עשרה
אנשים בבית אחד ומתו:
10 ונשאו דודו ומסרפו
להוציא עצמים מן־
הבית ואמר לאשר
בירכתי הבית העוד
עמך ואמר אפס ואמר
הס כי לא להזכיר בשם
11*a* יהוה: כי הנה יהוה
מצוה

II 12 הירצון בסלע סוסים
אם־יחרוש בבקר[27] ים
כי־הפכתם לראש משפט
ופרי צדקה ללענה:
13 השמחים ללא דבר
האמרים הלוא־בחזקנו לקחנו לנו קרנים:

14 *a, c* כי הנני מקים עליכם
בית ישראל גוי
ולחצו אתכם
מלבוא חמת
עד נחל הערבה:
14 *b* נאם יהוה אלהי הצבאות

[26] 𝔐𝔗 מחאב: as above, GEIGER, WELLHAUSEN, MITCHELL, ELHORST, LÖHR, OETTLI, *et al.*

[27] 𝔐𝔗 בבקרים; as above, J. D. MICHAELIS, HITZIG, OORT, GRAETZ, WELLHAUSEN, GUTHE, VALETON, MITCHELL, G. A. SMITH, NOWACK, DRIVER, LÖHR, ELHORST, and OETTLI.

II 4 Who lie on ivory couches,
And stretch themselves out upon their divans,
And eat lambs out of the flock,
And calves from the midst of the stall;
5 Who twitter to the sound of the harp,
Like David they devise for themselves instruments
of song.

III 6 Who drink from bowls of wine,
And with the first of oils they anoint themselves,
And do not grieve for the breach of Joseph.
7 Therefore, now, they shall go into exile at the head
of the captives,
And the shout of the banqueters shall cease;
8 *b* It is the oracle of Yahweh, God of hosts.

C. YAHWEH'S OATH THAT ISRAEL SHALL BE DESTROYED, 6:8-14

I 6: 8 *a* The Lord Yahweh has sworn by himself:
8 *c e* I abhor the glory of Jacob,
And his palaces I hate,
And I will deliver up the city and its contents;
11 *b, c* And one shall smite the great house into fragments,
And the small house into fissures.

II 12 Do horses run upon crags?
Does one plough the sea with oxen?
That ye have turned justice into poison
And the fruit of righteousness into wormwood.
13 Who rejoice in that which is not,
Who say: Have we not taken for ourselves horns
by our own strength?

III 14 *a, c* Yea, behold I am raising up against you,
O house of Israel, a nation;
And they shall crush you,
From the entrance to Hamath
Unto the stream of the Arabah;
14 *b* It is the oracle of Yahweh, God of hosts.

9 And it shall come to pass if there be left ten men in one house that they shall die.—10 And one's uncle, even his burner, shall take him up to bring out the body from the house, and shall say to him who is in the innermost parts of the house, Is there yet anyone with thee? And he shall say: None. And he shall say: Hush! one may not mention the name of Yahweh.—11 For lo! Yahweh will command . . . .

§11. THREE VISIONS OF DESTRUCTION, 7:1–9

I	7: 1 *a–c*	כה הראני אדני יהוה	
		והנה [יהוה] יוצר גבי	
		בתחלת עלות הלקש	
	1 *d*	והנה יָלָק[28] אחר גזי	
		המלך:	
	2	וַיְהִי הָא מְכַלֶּה[29]	
		לאכול את־עשב הארץ	
		ואמר אדני יהוה סלח־נא	
		מי־יקום יעקב כי־קטן הוא:	
	3	נחם יהוה על־זאת	
		לא תהיה אמר יהוה:	
II	4	כה הראני אדני יהוה	
		והנה קרא לרב	
		באש אדני יהוה	
		ותאכל את־תהום רבה	
		ואכלה את החלק:	
	5	ואמר אדני יהוה חדל־נא	
		מי יקום יעקב כי קטן הוא:	
	6	נחם יהוה על־זאת	
		גם היא לא תהיה אמר* יהוה:	*אדני
III	7	כה הראני [אֲדֹנָי]	
		והנה אדני נצב	
		על־חוֹמָה*[30] ובידו אנך:	*אנך
	8 *b*	ויאמר אדני הנני שם אנך	8 *a* ויאמר יהוה אלי מה אתה ראה עמוס ואמר אנך
		בקרב עמי ישראל	
		לא אוסיף עוד עבור לו:	
	9	ונשמו במות ישחק	
		ומקדשי ישראל יחרבו	
		וקמתי על־בית ירבעם בחרב:	

[28] 𝔐𝔗 לָקָשׁ; as above, HOFFMANN, WELLHAUSEN, MITCHELL, G. A. SMITH, LÖHR, and CHEYNE (*Critica Biblica*).

[29] 𝔐𝔗 וְהָיָה אם כִּלָּה; as above, TORREY (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIII, p. 63), WELLHAUSEN DRIVER, OORT, and LÖHR.

[30] 𝔐𝔗 חוֹמַת; as above, OORT, GRAETZ, NOWACK. ELHORST, LÖHR, OETTLI.

§ 11. THREE VISIONS OF DESTRUCTION, 7:1-9

I 7: 1 *a-c* Thus the Lord Yahweh showed me,
And lo! [Yahweh] was forming locusts,
In the beginning of the coming up of the after-growth;

1 *d* And lo! there were full-grown locusts after the king's mowings.

2 And when they were making an end
Of devouring the herb of the land,
Then I said, O Lord Yahweh, forgive, I pray thee,
How can Jacob stand, for he is small?

3 Yahweh repented him concerning this,
It shall not be, said Yahweh.

II 4 Thus the Lord Yahweh showed me,
And lo! he was calling to contend,
By fire,—the Lord Yahweh.
And it devoured the great deep,
And had begun to devour the land;

5 And I said, O Lord Yahweh, cease, I pray thee.
How can Jacob stand, for he is small?

6 Yahweh repented him concerning this,
Neither shall this be, said* Yahweh.

*the Lord

III 7 Thus [the Lord] showed me,
And lo! the Lord was stationed
Beside a* wall, with a plumb-line in his hand.

*plumb-

8 *b* And the Lord said: Behold I am setting a plumb-line,
In the midst of my people Israel,
I will not again pass by them any more.

8 *a* And Yahweh said unto me, What dost thou see, Amos? And I said, a plumb-line.

9 And the high-places of Isaac shall be desolate,
And the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste,
I will rise up against the house of Jeroboam with the sword.

§ 12. AN ACCUSATION AND A REPLY, 7:10–17

A. THE ACCUSATION, 7:10–13

I 7:10 וישלח אמציה כהן ביתאל
אל־ירבעם מלך־ישראל לאמר
קשר עליך עמוס
בקרב בית ישראל
לא תוכל הארץ
להכיל את־כל־דבריו׃

II 11 כי כה אמר עמוס
בחרב ימות ירבעם
וישראל גלה יגלה מעל אדמתו׃

III 12 ויאמר אמציה אל־עמוס
חזה לך ברח־לך אל־ארץ יהודה
ואכל־שם לחם ושם תנבא׃
13 וביתאל לא תוסיף עוד להנבא
כי מקדש מלך הוא
ובית ממלכה הוא׃

B. THE REPLY, 7:14–17

I 14 ויען עמוס ויאמר אל־אמציה
לא־נביא אנכי ולא־בן־נביא אנכי
כי נוֹקֵד[31] אנכי ובולס שקמים׃
15 ויקחני יהוה מאחרי הצאן
ויאמר אלי יהוה
לך הנבא אל־עמי ישראל׃

II 16 ועתה שמע דבר־יהוה
אתה אמר לא־תנבא על־ישראל
ולא תטיף על־בית ישחק׃

III 17 לכן כה אמר יהוה
אשתך בעיר תזנה
ובניך ובנתיך בחרב יפלו
ואדמתך בחבל תחלק
ואתה על־אדמה טמאה תמות
וישראל גלה יגלה מעל אדמתו׃

[31] MT בוֹקֵר; as above, HITZIG, GRAETZ, WELLHAUSEN, GUNNING, MITCHELL, DRIVER, NOWACK, OORT, ELHORST, LÖHR, OETTLI, BAUMANN.

§ 12. AN ACCUSATION AND A REPLY, 7:10–17

A. THE ACCUSATION, 7:10-13

I 7:10 And sent Amaziah, the priest of Bethel,
To Jeroboam, the king of Israel, saying:
Amos has conspired against thee
In the midst of the house of Israel;
The land is not able
To contain all his words.

II 11 For thus has Amos said:
Jeroboam shall die by the sword,
And Israel shall surely go captive from his land.

III 12 And Amaziah said unto Amos:
O thou seer! Go flee thee to the land of Judah;
And eat bread there, and prophesy there.
But at Bethel thou shalt no longer prophesy;
For it is the king's sanctuary,
And it is the royal residence.

B. THE REPLY, 7:14-17

I 7:14 And Amos answered and said to Amaziah:
I am no prophet, nor am I a prophet's son;
But a shepherd am I, and a dresser of sycamores;
15 And Yahweh took me from behind the sheep,
And Yahweh said unto me:
Go, prophesy against my people, Israel.

II 16 Now, therefore, hear the word of Yahweh:
Thou sayest, thou shalt not prophesy against Israel,
Nor preach against the house of Isaac—

III 17 Therefore thus has Yahweh said:
Thy wife shall be a harlot in the city,
And thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword;
And thy land shall be divided by line,
And thou shalt die upon an unclean soil;
And Israel shall surely go captive from his land.

§ 13. A FOURTH VISION OF DESTRUCTION, WITH AN EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE, 8:1–14.

I	8: 1	כה הראני אדני יהוה והנה כלוב קיץ:	
	2 a	* * * * * *	2 a ויאמר מה־אתה ראה עמוס ואמר כלוב קיץ
	2 b	ויאמר יהוה אלי בא הקץ אל־עמי ישראל לא־אוסיף עוד עבור לו:	
II	4	שמעו־זאת הַשֹּׁאֲפִים[32] אביון	
	5	ולשבית ענוי ארץ: לאמר מתי יעבר החדש ונשבירה שבר והשבת ונפתחה בר להקטין איפה ולהגדיל שקל ולעות מאזני מרמה:	
	6	לקנות בכסף דלים ואביון בעבור נעלים ומפל בר נשביר:	
III	7	נשבע יהוה בגאון יעקב אם־אשכח לנצח כל־מעשיהם:	
	8	העל־זאת לא־תרגז הארץ ואבל כל־יושב בה ועלתה כֻּלָּהּ[33] כלה *ונשקעה כיאור מצרים:	*ונגרשה
IV	9	והיה ביום ההוא*	*נאם אדני יהוה
		והבאתי השמש בצהרים והחשכתי לארץ ביום אור:	
	3	והילילו שִׁרוֹת[34] היכל*	*ביום ההוא
		נאם אדני יהוה רב הפגר בכל מקום הָשְׁלֵךְ:[35]*	*הס
V	10	והפכתי חגיכם לאבל וכל שיריכם לקינה והעליתי על־כל־מתנים שק ועל כל־ראש קרחה ושמתיה כאבל יחיד ואחריתה כיום מר:	

[32] מת הַשֹּׁאֲפִים; as above, WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, OETTLI, MARTI.

[33] מת כָּאֹר; as above, OORT, WELLHAUSEN, GRAETZ, GUTHE, NOWACK, OETTLI, MARTI.

[34] מת שִׁירוֹת; as above, HOFFMANN, OORT, WELLHAUSEN, GUTHE, NOWACK, ELHORST, LÖHR, OETTLI, MARTI.

[35] מת הִשְׁלֵךְ; as above, OORT, GUNNING, *et al.*

§ 13. A FOURTH VISION OF DESTRUCTION, WITH AN EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE, 8:1–14

I 8: 1 Thus the Lord Yahweh showed me,
And lo! a basket of summer fruit!

* * * * * * * * *

2 *b* And Yahweh said to me,
The end has come unto my people Israel,
I will not again pass them by.

2 *a* And he said, what dost thou see, Amos? and I said, a basket of summer fruit.

II 4 Hear this, oh ye that tread upon the needy,
And are for making the poor of the earth to cease, saying:
5 When will the new moon pass that we may sell grain,
And the Sabbath that we may offer corn?
Diminishing the ephah and enlarging the shekel,
And perverting balances of deceit.

6 Buying the poor for silver,
And the needy for a pair of shoes,
And that we may sell the refuse of the corn.

III 7 Yahweh hath sworn by the glory of Jacob:
I will never forget all their deeds.
8 On this account shall not the earth tremble,
And every inhabitant in her mourn?
And shall not the whole of it rise like the Nile,
*And sink like the Nile of Egypt?

*and heave

IV 9 And it shall come to pass in that day,*
That I will cause the sun to set at noon,
And I will darken the earth in the clear day,
3 And the singing-women of the palace shall wail,*
It is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh: A multitude of carcasses!
In every place they are cast.*

*it is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh.

*in that day.

*Hush!

V 10 And I will turn your pilgrimages into mourning,
And all your songs into dirges,
And I will bring sackcloth upon all loins,
And upon every head baldness,
And I will make it like the mourning for an only son,
And the end of it like a bitter day.

VI	11 *b*	והשלחתי רעב בארץ	11 *a* הנה ימים באים
		לא־רעב ללחם ולא־צמא לבים	נאם אדני יהוה
		כי אם־לשמע את־דְּבַר[36] יהוה:	
	12	ונעו מים עדים	
		ומצפון ועד־מזרח ישוטטו	
		לבקש את־דבר־יהוה ולא ימצאו:	
VII	13	ביום ההוא תתעלפנה	
		הבתולת היפות והבחורים*:	*בצמא
	14	הנשבעים באשמת שמרון	
		ואמרו חי אלהיך דן	
		וחי דרך באר שבע	
		ונפלו ולא־יקומו עוד:	

§ 14. A FIFTH VISION OF DESTRUCTION, WITH A PASSIONATE DESCRIPTION OF THE RUIN, 9:1–8 *b*

I	1	ראיתי את־אדני נצב על־המזבח
		ויאמר הך הכפתור וירעשו הספים
		ובצעם בראש כלם
		ואחריתם בחרב אהרג
		לא־ינוס להם נס
		ולא ימלט להם פליט:
II	2	אם יחתרו בשאול
		משם ידי תקחם
		ואם יעלו השמים
		משם אורידם:
	3 *a, b*	ואם־יחבאו בראש הכרמל
		משם אחפש ולקחתים
III	3 *c, d*	ואם־יסתרו מנגד עיני בקרקע הים
		משם אצוה את־הנחש ונשכם:

[36] 𝔐𝔗 דְּבָרִי; as above, 𝔊, 𝔖, 𝔙, 𝔗, many Hebrew codices, and DRIVER, MARTI, *et al.*

VI 11 *b* And I will send a famine in the land,
Not a famine for bread, nor a thirst for water,
But for hearing the word of Yahweh.
12 And they shall wander from sea to sea,
And from the north even to the rising of the sun they shall run to and fro,
To seek the word of Yahweh, but they shall not find it.

11 *a* Behold the days are coming, it is the oracle of the Lord Yahweh.

VII 13 In that day there shall faint
The fairest maidens and the youths,*
14 Who swear by Samaria's guilt,
And say: As liveth thy God, O Dan;
And: As liveth the way of Beersheba;
And they shall fall and not rise again.

*for thirst.

§ 14. A FIFTH VISION OF DESTRUCTION, WITH A PASSIONATE DESCRIPTION OF THE RUIN, 9:1–8*b*

I 1 I saw the Lord standing by the altar,
And he said: Smite the capitals, that the thresholds may shake,
Yea, break them off upon the head of all of them (?),
And the residue of them I will slay with the sword.
There shall not escape of them a fugitive,
And there shall not be delivered of them a refugee.

II 2 If they dig through to Sheol,
Thence will my hand take them;
And if they climb up to heaven,
Thence will I bring them down;
3 *a, b* And if they conceal themselves at the top of Carmel,
Thence will I search them out and take them.

III 3 *c, d* And if they hide from before mine eyes at the bottom of the sea,
Thence will I command the serpent and it will bite them;

4 ואם־ילכו בשבי לפני איביהם
משם אצוה את־החרב והרגתם
ושמתי עיני עליהם
לרעה ולא לטובה:

5 ואדני יהוה הצבאות
הנוגע בארץ ותמוג
ואבלו כל יושבי בה
ועלתה כיאר כלה
ושקעה כיאר מצרים:
6 הבונה בשמים עֲלִיּוֹתָיו[37]
ואגדתו על־ארץ יסדה
הקרא למי הים
וישפכם על־פני הארץ
יהוה שמו:

IV 7 הלוא כבני־כושיים אתם לי
בני ישראל נאם יהוה
הלוא את־ישראל העליתי מארץ מצרים
ופלשתים מכפתור וארם מקיר:
8 a, b הנה עיני אדני יהוה בממלכה החטאה
והשמדתי אתה מעל פני האדמה

8 c אפס כי לא השמיד
אשמיד את־בית יעקב
נאם־יהוה:

§ 15. A LATER VOICE OF PROMISE, 9:9–15

I 9 כי־הנה אנכי־מצוה
והנעותי בכל־הגוים
את־בית־ישראל
כאשר ינוע בכברה
ולא־יפול צרור ארץ:
10 בחרב ימותו כל־חטאי
עמי
האמרים לא־תגיש[38]
ותקדם[39] עדינו[40] הרעה:

II 11 ביום ההוא אקים
את־סכת דויד הנפלת
וגדרתי את פרציהן
והרסתיהן[41] אקים
ובניתיה כימי עולם:

[37] MT מַעֲלֹתָיו; as above, OORT, GUNNING, GRAETZ, WELLHAUSEN, MITCHELL, NOWACK, ELHORST, OETTLI, MARTI.

[38] MT תַּגִּישׁ; as above, WELLHAUSEN, GEO. ADAM SMITH, NOWACK, TORREY, DRIVER, OORT (*Emendationes*), ELHORST, OETTLI, MARTI.

[39] MT וְתַקְדִּים; as above, BLEEK-WELLHAUSEN (*Einleitung*, pp. 633 f.), TORREY, GEO. ADAM SMITH, NOWACK, OORT (*Emendationes*), ELHORST, OETTLI, MARTI.

[40] MT בַּעֲדִנוּ; as above, HOFFMANN, OORT, GRAETZ, WELLHAUSEN, TORREY, NOWACK, ELHORST, OETTLI, MARTI.

[41] MT פִּרְצֵיהֶן וַהֲרִסֹתָיו; as above, WELLHAUSEN *et al.*

4 And if they go about in captivity before their enemies,
Thence will I command the sword and it will slay them;
And I will put mine eye on them
For evil and not for good.

IV 7 Are ye not as the sons of the Cushites unto me,
O sons of Israel? It is the oracle of Yahweh.
Did I not bring up Israel out of the land of Egypt,
And the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?
8 *a, b* Behold the eyes of the Lord Yahweh are upon this sinful kingdom,
And I will destroy it from off the face of the earth.

5 And the Lord Yahweh Sabaoth,
He that touches the earth and it melts,
And all who dwell in it mourn,
And it rises up like the Nile, all of it,
And sinks like the Nile of Egypt—
6 He that builds his chambers in the heavens,
And has established his vault upon the earth—
He that calls for the waters of the sea,
And pours them out upon the face of the earth—
Yahweh is his name.

8 *c* Save that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob; it is the oracle of Yahweh.

§ 15. A LATER VOICE OF PROMISE, 9:9–15

I 9 For behold I command,
And I will shake the house of Israel among all the nations,
Just as one shakes with a sieve;
And not a kernel shall fall to the ground.
10 By the sword shall die all the sinners of my people,
Who say: Disaster shall not touch or befall us.

II 11 In that day I will raise up the hut of David that is fallen,
And I will wall up its breaches and raise up its ruins,
And I will build it as in the days of old,

12 למען יירשו את־
שארית אדום וכל־
הגוים
אשר נקרא שמי עליהם
נאם יהוה עשה זאת:

III 13 הנה ימים באים
נאם יהוה
ונגש חורש בקוצר
ודרך ענבים במשך הזרע
והטיפו ההרים עסיס
וכל הגבעות תתמוגגנה:
14*a* ושבתי את־שבות עמי
ישראל

IV 14 *b–d* ובנו ערים
נשמות וישבו
ונטעו כרמים ושתו את־
יינם
ועשו גנות ואכלו את־
פריהם:
15 ונטעתים על־אדמתם
ולא ינתשו עוד מעל
אדמתם
אשר נתתי להם אמר
יהוה אלהיך:

12 In order that they may
possess the remnant of
Edom and all the nations,
Which are called by my
name.
It is the oracle of Yahweh,
who will do this.

III 13 Behold the days are
coming, it is the oracle
of Yahweh,
When the ploughman shall
overtake the reaper,
And the trader of grapes
him who soweth seed;
And the mountains shall
drop sweet wine,
And all the hills shall melt,
14*a* And I will lead back the
captivity of my people
Israel.

IV 14 *b–d* And they shall re-
build waste cities and
inhabit them,
And they shall plant vine-
yards and drink their
wine,
And they shall make gar-
dens and eat their fruit,
15 And I will plant them upon
their land,
And they shall not again
be plucked up from their
land,
Which I have given them,
Yahweh thy God has said.

LITERARY REMAINS OF RIM-SIN (ARIOCH), KING OF LARSA

SOME LITERARY REMAINS OF RIM-SIN (ARIOCH), KING OF LARSA, ABOUT 2285 B. C.

Ira Maurice Price

The fourteenth chapter of Genesis is replete with historical and archæological hints. The rôle that Abraham played in its narrative has claimed for it large attention on the part of biblical and Semitic students. Its picture, though merely a sketch, is one of the most fascinating of that early period. Its leading figures and their rôle in the shifting scenes presuppose large movements of armies of invasion and conquest years before this international event. The kings of Babylonia had already for long centuries collected tribute along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean sea. The lines of communication between the East and the West were well established centuries before Abraham left "Ur of the Chaldees." In his migration Abraham doubtless followed the regular caravan and army routes toward the setting sun. In the extreme Westland he was probably still under the supremacy of his eastern lords.

This chapter of Genesis echoes with the alarms of war sounded in Elam, Babylonia, and the Westland. A league was formed between Amraphel, king of Shinar; Arioch, king of Ellasar; Chedorlaomer, king of Elam; and Tidal, king of Goiim. These allied monarchs and their armies marched to the Westland to reconquer former faithful, but now rebellious, subjects. Though they succeeded in devastating territory, plundering and destroying cities, and carrying off a large number of captives and much booty, this chapter pictures a subsequent defeat for their armies at the hands of Abraham's troops.

But our investigation is not grouped about this chapter of Genesis, nor about the outcome of that great campaign. Its chief interest is found in one of the allies of that eastern combination of kings for crushing the western rebels. At least two of the leaders of this campaign have been identified in the literary remains of that ancient epoch, and their place in the history of early Babylonia quite definitely determined. Amraphel, king of Shinar, has been identified as Ḫammurabi, king of Babylonia, who has come into especial prominence from the discovery of a lot of his letters,[1] which had been sent by him to various authorities in Babylonia; but his preeminence just now is due to the discovery and publication of his code of civil laws, found at Susa, December, 1901–January, 1902, by M. J. de Morgan, first published by Professor Scheil[2] of Paris, in 1902, and just now issued in this country by Professor

[1] *The Letters and Inscriptions of Ḫammurabi, King of Babylon about 2200 B. C.* By L. W. King, M.A. 3 vols. London, 1898–1900.

[2] *Mémoires publiés sous la direction de M. J. de Morgan*; Vol. IV: *Textes élamites-sémitiques.* Par V. Scheil, O. P. Paris, 1902.

Robert Francis Harper.[1] Ḫammurabi's personality at this time quite overshadows that of any other monarch of ancient Babylonia in Abraham's day. His military and administrative ability achieved for him political supremacy over the cities of Babylonia. This victory has won for him the distinction of being the unifier of the political strength of the great cities of that fertile valley.

The second royal ally in that league is Arioch, king of Ellasar, named in Gen. 10:1 and 9, immediately after Amraphel. He is now generally recognized as Rim-Sin, the Semitic reading for the archaic name Eri-Aku, king of Larsa, and of other cities in that neighborhood. The city of Larsa within this historical era, according to the short archaic inscriptions that mention it, had three kings of some note. The first ruler was Nur-Adad, whose brief inscription[2] tells us that he built two sanctuaries at Larsa, the reading of whose names is doubtful, though Tiele[3] says they were dedicated to the moon-god and his consort. He calls himself "shepherd of Ur" besides builder of the temples named. He was succeeded by Sinidinnam,[4] supposedly his son. This Semitic ruler restored, completed, and decorated the temple of the sun-god, Shamash, in Larsa. He also constructed valuable waterways—irrigating canals—and displayed especial military power. He calls himself "preserver of Ur, king of Larsa, king of Shumer and Akkad." This last title seems to assume for him the political control of all that lower valley.

But political ambitions and designs were focalizing in that great commercial and military center. The hardy Elamites on the east were looking longingly toward these prosperous cities. Their armies were being vigorously developed to push out the boundaries of their realm. Earlier wars had not entirely settled matters of dispute, nor of comparative strength.

The Elamites seem to have made border raids at first. These were followed by systematic plunder of territory and cities, and the conveyance of a great stock of booty to Susa. Such excursions and campaigns covered many years, probably decades, and even centuries, until Elam secured a foothold in Babylonian territory. One of the most notable of these raiders was King Kudurnanḫundi, whose exploits are doubtless referred to by Ashurbanipal in the report of his conquest of Susa about 650 B.C. This Assyrian king restored a statue of the goddess Nanâ to Erech that the Elamites had carried away 1635 years earlier,[5] or about 2285 B. C., presumably the date of the conquest of this region by the Elamite army.

The earliest Elamite ruler of lower Babylonia in this period was Kudurmabuk, son of Simtišilḫak, the adda, or father, or governor, of Emutbal,[6] a district in western Elam. He also designates himself as governor of Martu,[7] thought to refer, not to the so-called "Westland" on the east coast of the Mediterranean sea, but to a western district of the Elamite empire of this period, and probably another designation of

[1] *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2250 B. C.* By PROFESSOR ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Ph.D. University of Chicago Press, 1904.

[2] I Rawlinson 2, No. IV.

[3] *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 118.

[4] I Rawlinson 5, No. XX.

[5] V Rawlinson, Rassam Cyl., Col. VI, ll. 107–24.

[6] I Rawlinson 5, No. XVI, l. 10.

[7] I Rawlinson 2, No. III, l. 4.

Emutbal. Kudurmabuk's career in Babylonia derives its chief interest from the fact that he was the father of Rim-Sin, whose documents will be presently taken up. This first Elamite ruler set up his throne at Larsa, possibly on the ruins of Sinidinnam's kingdom, and for several years exercised his sway over his new realm. But it is significant at the same time that he never mentions himself as king of Elam, but as adda, or governor of Emutbal (or Martu), a district of Elam. Neither is he designated in the inscriptions as king of this newly conquered Babylonian territory. He never mentions himself alone, but always in connection with his son Rim-Sin, upon whom he seems to have bestowed chief authority. Furthermore, in all the numerous dates on contract tablets already found and published there are none which mention Kudurmabuk. Consequently, his renown in this period must be attributed to his generalship as conqueror of lower Babylonia, and as aiding his son Rim-Sin in securing his seat and authority.

In fine, Eri-Aku, or Semitic Rim-Sin, was son of Kudurmabuk, an Elamite governor of Emutbal, a western district of the Elamite empire, whose throne was bestowed upon him by his father, about 2285 B. C., Ḫammurabi being Semitic king at Babylon. Rim-Sin has left us several inscriptions recording his ancestry, his regal position, his achievements as king and devotee of the gods, and his relation to other cities than Larsa of Babylonia. The fact that he was designated as king of Ellasar (Larsa) in Genesis 14 indicates that this city was so closely associated with his name that he was recognized in the quadruple alliance pre-eminently as its king.

The inscriptions of Rim-Sin are comparatively short, and all are written in the archaic ideographic language of early Babylonia. They present the usual difficulties found in the decipherment and interpretation of the signs of this language of the third millennium B. C.

The documents treated in this paper are eleven in number. The original texts of nine of them have already been published in various places. The following are the main facts to be noted regarding each:

No. I. An inscription of Kudurmabuk, mentioning Rim-Sin, his son, is published in facsimile in I Rawlinson, 2, No. III; it was transliterated and translated by Winckler in *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. III, pp. 92, 93.

No. II. A document of Kudurmabuk, mentioning Rim-Sin, his son, is published in facsimile in Lenormant, *Choix de textes cunéiformes inédits ou incomplétement publiés*, premier fascicule, No. 70, pp. 164, 165, with transliteration and translation by Winckler in *KB*, III, 98, 99.

No. III. An inscription of Rim-Sin, published in facsimile in I Rawlinson, 5, No. XVI; transliterated and translated by Winckler in *KB*, III, 94, 95.

No. IV. A Rim-Sin inscription, published in facsimile in I Rawlinson, 3, No. X; transliterated and translated by Winckler in *KB*, III, 94, 95.

No. V. Rim-Sin's document, published in facsimile in IV Rawlinson, 35, 6; with transliteration and translation by Winckler in *KB*, III, 96, 97.

No. VI. A somewhat damaged inscription of Rim-Sin, published, with transliteration and

translation by Evetts, B. T. A., in *Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XIII (1891), p. 159.

No. VII. A well-preserved inscription of Rim-Sin, copied by the writer from the original tablet in the Louvre Museum in July, 1901, and here published (Plates IX and X) for the first time with transliteration and translation. An almost exact duplicate is found in *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, Vol. I, Plates 45, 46.

No. VIII. A cone with an inscription of Rim-Sin, first published by heliograph process in de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Plate 41, presenting four views. I also copied this inscription in July, 1901, from the original cone. It had been roughly used or badly preserved, hence the obscurity of some of the signs (Plates XI and XII). The base of the cone is very fragmentary, as seen in Plate XIII. I am gratefully indebted to M. Thureau-Dangin for his kindness in verifyingthe readings of some of the most difficult signs. This facsimile, transliteration, and translation are here published for the first time.

No. IX. A small, somewhat damaged inscription of Rim-Sin, published in facsimile in *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, Plate 58, No. 128. The transliteration and translation are here published for the first time.

No. X and XI. Both inscriptions are published in *Mittheilungen des akademischen orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin*, Vol. I, pp. 16, 17; transliterated and translated by Winckler in *KB*, III, 94–97. The work done here is based on the transliteration in *KB*, as the facsimiles in *AV* were not accessible for study.

My purpose in presenting this study of these ancient literary remains is to make accessible to English students all the important information that we possess of this Elamite contemporary of Abraham, whose importance in lower Babylonia and among the rulers of that region is recognized in Genesis, chap. 14. The transliteration furnishes a Latinized form of the original text, and the translation is an attempt to render the original into English, though occasionally it is found to be impossible.

The "List of Proper Names," and the "Glossary" give a somewhat adequate idea of the scope of the interests of Rim-Sin's activity, and the sweep of the language employed in recording his activities. Authority for the translation presented is cited under each separate word in the "Glossary." Of necessity, some of the translations are merely tentative, awaiting further light on this primitive ideographic form of the early language of Babylonia.

NO. I

[I RAWLINSON, p. 2, No. III]

1 dingir Nannar	To the god Nannar,
2 lugal-a-ni-ir	to his lord,
3 Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	Kudurmabuk,
4 adda kur MAR-TU	governor[a] of Martu,[b]
5 dum Si-im-ti-ši-il-ḫa-ak	son of Simtišilḫak,
6 ud dingir Nannar[1]	when the god Nannar

[1] Evidently an error in the facsimile for the regular sign for Nannar, as in line 1.

[a] Literally, "the father of Martu."

[b] In I R. 5, No. XVI, I, 9 we find in this same connection ad-da E-mu-ut-ba-la.

7 a-ra-zu-ni	his prayer
8 mu[1]-ŠI-DU-na-a	received,
9 É-nun-maḫ	the temple E-nun-maḫ,
10 dingir Nannar-kam	to the god Nannar
11 nam-ti-la-ni-šú	for his life,
12 ù nam-ti	and the life of
13 Eri dingir Aku dumu-ni	Rim-Sin, his son,
14[2] lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma-šú	for the king of Larsa,
15 mu-na-ni-in-rú.	he did build.

NO. II

[LENORMANT, *Textes inédits*, No. 70]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Ninni nin ḫar-sag	To the goddess Nanâ, queen of the mountains,
2 me nigin-ba du(g)-gál	the law of its whole (area), the benevolent one,
3 á-ág-gà	an oracle (or, orders)
4 mu-uraš(!) ŠU KU-bi	she issues by her great power,
5 dumu-sal dingir En-zu-na	daughter of the god Sin—
6 nin-ne-ne-ir	to this lady,
7 Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	Kudurmabuk,
8 [ad-da Ya[3]]-mu-ut-ba-la	[governor of Ya]mutbal,[a]
9 [dum Si-]im-ti-ši-il-ḫa-ak	[son of Si]mtišilḫak,
10 ù Eri[4] dingir Aku dumu-ni	and Rim-Sin, his son,
11 siba im-tug NIPPURU(-ki)	the illustrious shepherd of Nippur,
12 u-a URU(-ki)-ma	preserver of Ur,
13 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
14 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU-ge	king of Shumer and Akkad,
15 É-me-ur-ur	the temple, E-me-ur-ur
16 ù ki-ág-gà-ni	even his favorite one,

COLUMN II

1 nam-ti-la-ne-ne-šú	for their lives
2 mu-na-rú(!) . . .	built(!).
3 sag-bi mu-ni-in-il-ne	Its tower he reared aloft,

[1] This sign seems to be intended for mu.

[2] This line is omitted in *KB*, III, 92.

[3] Lenormant supplies Ya here, where other texts read E.

[4] Lenormant's reading is, syllabically, Ri-im dingir En-zu.

[a] In I R. 5, No. XVI, 1, 9 we find in this same connection ad-da E-mu-ut-ba-la.

4 ḫar-sag-da[1] ne-in-sud-uš	like a mountain, it was lifted up.
5 nam-bi-šú	For its destiny
6 dingir Ninni nin an-ki-ge	the goddess Nanâ, queen of heaven and earth,
7 ù-mu-ne-BE-ge	will (now) be consoled(!)
8 nam-ti ud-du šar	Life for many days (to come),
9 mu gid-du bal gi-na	future years, a secure reign,
10 dug kalag UR A.SE.DI	a strong command, with one accord(!) . . . .
11 kur-ra-ni-ta uru-šú NI-ne	over his country, over his brilliant[a] city(?) (may there be).
12 gid SI.UB dingir gal-gal-e-ne-ta	limits[b] to his future reign, by the great gods,
13 nam-ḫi-en-ne-ib-kur-ri	may he never reach.

NO. III

[I RAWLINSON, p. 5, No. XVI]

COLUMN I

1 Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
2 nitaḫ lig-ga	the valiant hero,
3[2] siba gar-zi	the faithful shepherd,
4 dingir En-lil-li gar-ra	a bestowal of the god Bel,
5 u-a URU(-ki)-ma	the preserver of Ur,
6 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
7 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU-ge	king of Shumer and Akkad,
8 dum Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	the son of Kudurmabuk,
9 ad-da E-mu-ut-ba-la me-en	governor of Emutbal, am I.
10 URU(-ki) dagal-e-ne	Ur, its enlargement
11 mu-maḫ tug-tug-ne	I took in hand,[c] its accomplishment

COLUMN II

1 mu[3]-na-bi	I commanded,
2 ù gul im-ma-an-gà-ge	and the ruins rebuilt,[d]
3 dingir Nannar lugal-mu	to the god Nannar, my lord,
4 mu-ši-in-še	I dedicated.

[1] Text evidently reads da; *KB*, III, 98, reads gim(?).

[2] Lines 3 and 4 transposed in *KB*, III, 94.

[3] Evidently intended for mu.

[a] NI = namâru, "brilliant."

[b] gid = rûḳu, Br. 7532; sî = ṃalû; UB = "realm, limits, region."

[c] maḫ = bêlu, "take in hand," Br. 1036.

[d] gà = kânu, "establish, erect," Br. 5417.

5 bad-gal ḫar-sag-ga-?-la šu-nu-tu-tu	A great wall, (like) a mountain, restored,[a]
6 ní-bi-šú e(n)-a	for his adoration, resplendent
7 mu-na-rú	I built (it).
8 uru(!)-ni ḫe-im-mi-ra(!)	His city, may he occupy (it).
9 bad-ba	Its wall,
10 dingir Nannar gi-ri ma-da gí-en gí-en	Nannar-giri-ma-da-gí-en-gí-en[b]
11 mu-bi-im	(was) its name.

NO. IV

[I RAWLINSON, p. 3, No. X]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Nin-šaḫ	To the god Ninšaḫ
2 en-gal-lal unu-ba ág-a	the great lord of his beloved dwelling-place
3 šag-ka ság zi gal-zu	the wise, benevolent, faithful, intelligent,
4 luḫ-maḫ šag-sag ù dingir gal-la	overseer, lord, and great god,
5 dug-ga-ni igi-šú túm	whose commands go before his face.
6 lugal-a-ni-ir	To his lord,
7 dingir Eri[1] dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
8 siba tig ùg . . . . . NIPPURU(-ki)	shepherd of all the people . . . of Nippur,
9 me giš-ḫar ERIDA(-ki)-ga šu-ul-ul	who completed[c] the orders[d] for the construction of Eridu,
10 u-a URU(-ki)-ma	preserver of Ur,
11 É-ud-da ní-te-gà[2]	reverer of the temple, E-ud-da,
12 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,

COLUMN II

1 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU-ge	king of Shumer and Akkad.
2 ud dingir dingir En-lil	When the gods Bel
3 dingir En-ki	and Ea,
4 dingir gal-gal-e-ne	the great gods,
5 UNUG(-ki) uru ul	the reconstructed city Erech,
6 šu-mu-šú ma-ni-in-si-eš-a	had entrusted to my hands,
7 dingir Nin-šaḫ lugal-mu-ra	to the god Ninšaḫ, my lord,

[1] Syllabically it reads Ri-im.

[2] Written giš, but in comparison with Col. II, 10, should be read gà; *cf.* IV R. 35, 6, I, 22.

[a] tu = adāšu, "renew, restore."

[b] "Nannar, the foundation of the land, establishes."

[c] me = parṣu, "law, order;" verb = "fix, determine."

[d] giš-ḫar = uṣurtu, "boundary, limits, construction;" *cf. HWB*, 122*a*.

8 gu-ság-ság zi-da-mu-ta	with fervent and faithful prayers,
9 É-da-ág-gà[1]-sum-mu	the temple, E-da-ag-ga-sum-mu,
10 ki-tuš ki-ág-gà-ni	his beloved dwelling-place,
11 nam-ti-mu-šú	for my life,
12 mu-na-rú	I built.

NO. V

[IV RAWLINSON, p. 35, 6]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Nannar	To the god Nannar,
2 en dumu nun	the lord, the great son of
3 an azag-gi maš egir e(n)	the resplendent heavens, overseer[a] of future events(!)
4 ? ? ? zu e gis-tug	
5 lugal-mu-ra	to my lord,
6 Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
7 u-a É-kur-ra	preserver of the temple, E-kur-ra,
8 siba sag-li-tar	shepherd, overseer[b] of
9 É-NER-NU-GÁL	the temple, E-gišširgal,
10 galu im-tug	the illustrious person,
11 ab É-bar-ra	the director of the temple, E-barra
12 me giš-ḫar	who completed the orders for the
13 ERIDA(-ki)-ga šu-ul-ul	construction of Eridu,
14 galu pád-ninni gu-ul gu-ul	the one who increased the freewill offerings
15 É-ninnû me-en	of the temple, E-ninnû, am I.
16 Šir-pur-la-ki Gir-su-ki	The one who, the cities Lagash and Girsu
17 ki[2]-bi gí-gí me-en	in their places restored, am I.
18 uru-šú[3] AN-MA-DA-BI . .	For the city, AN-MA-DA-BI . . .
19 šu-ne-ne-in-ag	was constructed.
20 dingir Nannar dingir Babbar-bi	To the gods Nannar and Shamash,
21 ki-tuš-šú É-šar-mu-un-ne(!)	for a dwelling-place, the temple E-šar-mu-un-ne,
22 nun ní-te-gà	the great, the revered,
23 É-lugal-la-na-šú	for a regal temple,
24 zi ti-li-ni[4]-šú gub-?	for the life of his soul, was established(!).
25 ud dingir AŠ-BABBAR[5](!).	When the god AŠ-BABBAR(!),

[1] Read ga as in l. 10.

[2] Apparently for ki, *cf.* same expression oft repeated, as in Col. II, 6.

[3] Omitted in *KB*, III, 96.

[4] ir in I R., but apparently an error for ni.

[5] A sign of doubtful character.

[a] maš = ašaridu, Br. 1739.

[b] sag-li-tar = pâkidu, Br. 3542.

COLUMN II

1 ŠI+UM šág-ga-ni	his beneficent protector,
2 igi ma-ni-in-dú-a	lifted his eyes upon him,
3 igi nam-ti-la sag-ni	with the eyes of his exalted life,
4 mu-ši-in-bar	he looked upon him,
5 É-a-ni dù si NE	his temple, which had become a ruin through fire,[a]
6 ki-bi gí-gí-ne	in its place, I restored.
7 É-a-ar-ma-an-sag-ga	The temple, E-a-ar-ma-an-sag-ga,
8 nam-ti-mu-šú	for my life,
9 ù nam-ti	and the life of
10 Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	Kudurmabuk
11 a-a MUḪ-mà-ge	my father, and progenitor,[b]
12 É-uru-ḫul-la-ka-ni	the temple, E-uru-ḫul-la,
13 É-te-im-il(a)	the temple, E-te-im-ila,
14 mu-na-[rú]	I built.
15 me-te IGI-É-DI ùg	Decorations, to the astonishment of the people,
16 ud-da-r[um]	in days to come [I prepared].

[*Rest broken away*]

NO. VI

[*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. XIII, p. 159]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Ninni ZABABU(-ki)	To Nanâ of the city of Ḫallab
2 dumu-sal dingir En-zu-na	daughter of the god Sin,
3 nin-mu-ra	to my lady,
4 Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
5 lugal ARARMA(ki) me-en	king of Larsa, I,
6 nam-ti-mu-šú	for my life,
7 ù nam-ti	and the life of
8 Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	Kudurmabuk
9 a-a MUḪ-mà-šú[1]	my father and progenitor,
10 Gi-unu-ki-a[zag][2]	the beautiful Gi-unu,
11 É-sag-?-?	the exalted temple . . . . .
12 ki-tuš nam-ur-sag-mà sag-ni	the dwelling-place of my might, its pinnacle,

[1] Reading is ge in AO 3003, Obv. 20; IV R. 35, 6, II, 1; and ka in AV, I, 16, I, 7.

[2] Supplied from Col. II, 3.

[a] si = enšu, Br. 9463; dù = ēpēšu, Br. 5254; NE = išâtu Br. 4584; literally, "made + weakness + fire."

[b] This line is partially translated in *KB*, III, 98; but the a-a is evidently "father," while MUḪ signifies "child, birth" (*HWB*, 233), and the meaning is that given above.

13 . . . . . ?-tûm-mà-ge	. . . . . of my . . . .
14 ni-šá-ne	had become old,
15 nu ùg še-ga	the people had ceased to revere it,
16 gà-ra sag-ki babbar-ga-ni-ta	(I) restored its appearance to the (brilliancy of) the sun.

COLUMN II

1 ne-ne-bi	These things
2 ma-an-dúg-ga	I have done.
3 Gi-unu-ki azag mu-rú	The beautiful Gi-unu I have rebuilt
4 kur-LIL-DU-dim	like the mountain Lil-du,
5 SU-ŠI-ma	and its glory
6 ši-ne-in-ila	exalted.
7 IGI-É-DI kalam-ma sag	An astonishment to all the land, supreme
8 ḫe-ne-gub	may it remain.
9 sag-pa[1] . . . . . mu-gin ud-mà	mourning (?) . . . . . I restrained (!) in my day.
10 igi gi tag ni-ši-bar	The faithful ones, dejected (!) have been seen;
11 bal sag ur se ki	but the chief enemy, with one accord,[a] subdued (!)
12 mu du(g) UB-ga	A good name, a wide horizon
13 sag-e[2]-eš	for presents,
14 ḫu-mu-ni-PA+KAB+DU.	have been bestowed[b] upon me.

NO. VII

[AO 3003, IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS]

OBVERSE

1 dingir Nin-in-si-na	To the goddess Bau,
2 nin-gal dagal kalam-ma	the great lady, mother of all lands,
3 zi-gál kalama dim-dim-me	the bestower of life, the founder of the land.
4 dumu-sag an azag-ga	The exalted son of the resplendent heavens,
5 nin-a-ni-ir	to his lady,
6 Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
7 nitaḫ lig-ga	the valiant hero,
8 u-a URU(-ki)-ma	preserver of Ur,

[1] Is this part of sag-pa-rim = nissatum, "weeping, grief"? *Cf.* ARNOLT, *Assyr. Dict.*, 703*b*.

[2] *Cf.* reading in AO 3003, Rev. 18.

[a] ur = mitḫaru, "united, with one accord," Br. 11261; se = sapânu, "subdue," Br. 4420.

[b] PA + KAB + DU = šarâḳu, "give, bestow, present," *HWB*, 691*a* f.; *cf.* THUREAU-DANGIN, *REC*, 302, note.

9 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
10 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU[1]	king of Shumer and Akkad,
11 siba gar-zi giš-ḫar šu-ul-ul me-en	faithful shepherd, the conqueror,[a] am I.
12 É-u-nam-ti-la	The temple, E-u-nam-ti-la,[b]
13 tu unu azag-ga	a beautifully constructed dwelling,
14 ki-im-dub-bu-da-ni	a place for soothing one's self,
15 É-a ni-gar ud-ul-ni-a-ta	a temple prepared from the rising of the sun (from of old),
16 ba-rú a-ba ba-til	was built, and its water-supply perfected.
17 nam-ti-mu-šú	For my life
18 ù nam-ti	and the life of
19 Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	Kudurmabuk
20[2] a-a MUḪ-mà-ge	my father and progenitor,

REVERSE

1 ḫu-mu-na-rú	I have reconstructed (it).
2 ki-bi ḫe-im-me-gí	I brought her back to her place,
3 ki-tuš šag-dug-ga-na	the dwelling-place of the pious heart,
4 gal-li-eš ḫe-im-mi-tuš	I have caused her continuously to dwell therein.
5 mu nam-lugal-la-mà	The name of my kingdom
6 gin uru-šú ḫe-im-mi-gál	in the city I have caused to remain secure.
7 egir ud-da-rum	For future days,
8 UB-mu ag-ga-ne	my extensive kingdom,
9 te-UB nam-nun-na-mà	the exalted reverence for my greatness,
10 apin-bi ki-ḫe-ne-gub	its water supply[c]—may they be established,
11 É-LUM-EL-BI ḫe-ne-tuš	may the temple, E-lum-el-bi,[d] be (perpetually) occupied.
12 nig-ag-mu-šú	By reason of my work
13 dingir Nin-in-si-na	the goddess Bau,
14 nin-mu ḫu-mu-ḫul-li-en	my lady, I have caused to rejoice.
15 nam-tar nam-ti-la	May the decree of life,
16 bal sud-ud-mu ḫe-gál-la	the assurance of my future remain.
17 giš-gu-za gir gin-ni	A throne, firmly established,
18 sag-e-eš ḫa-ma-ab-PA + KAB + DU-gi	may she bestow on me as a gift.

[1] ki lacking, though it is found in the other Rim-Sin texts.

[2] This same line is found in *PSBA*, XIII, 159, I, 9; AV, I, 16, I, 7.

[a] ul-ul = nakāpu, "overthrow, subdue;" giš-ḫar = "limits, boundaries."

[b] "the sustainer of life."

[c] literally, "its canals."

[d] "house + fruit + clear + drink."

19 unu ARARMA(-ki)-ma-ka	In a dwelling in Larsa,
20 uru ba-dim-me-na-mà	a city of my making,
21 ud-mu ḫe-sud-sud-ud	may my day be prolonged.

NO. VIII

[CONE OF RIM-SIN, IN THE LOUVRE, PARIS]

1 dingir Nin-šaḫ	To the god Ninšaḫ,
2 en gal-gal-la zag ila	the great lord, the exalted ruler,
3 sag-zi dug-ga-ni til ḫe-me	the faithful overseer, who forcefully issues his commands,
4 luḫ-maḫ ù luḫ gí pa šu-ul	the plenipotentiary, and minister who completely maintains the scepter,
5 á-ág-gà an-ki-a si-di-e	the oracle of heaven and earth, who sustains the right,
6 . . . an gí sum-mu dingir gal-gal-e-ne-ir	. . . . . to the great gods,
7 a-ra-zu-e [g]iš-tug	who listen to prayers,
8 lugal-mu-ra	to my king (lord),
9 dingir Eri[1] dingir Aku nitaḫ ligga	Rim-Sin, the valiant hero,
10 dun . . . . . kur? . . . gal	. . . . .
11 siba tig ŭg-ki En-lil-la(l)-ki[2]	shepherd of all the people of Bel,
12 me giš-ḫar šu-ul ERIDA (-ki)-ga	who completed orders for the construction of Eridu,
13 engar zi u-a URU(-ki)-ma	the faithful husbandman, preserver of Ur,
14 É-ud-da im-te-ga	the reverer of the temple, E-ud-da,
15 sag-li-tar Gir-su-ki Šir(?)-pur(?)-la(?)-ki	the overseer of Girsu and Lagash,
16 sag šá(g)-šá(g) - - - - - - - - - -	a gracious governor . . . . .
17 É-ud-gal-gal-la-e	the temple, E-ud-gal-gal
18 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - gi	. . . . .
19 dingir lugal tig dú(!)-a-šú	(to the) god-king of all, for forgiveness(!)
20 . . . . . gà?-du- . . . . . an-na-šú	. . . . . to the heavens(!)
21 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,

[1] Original text reads syllabically Ri-im.

[2] Same connection in I R. 3, No. X, I, 8, reads En-lil-ki = Nippur, though in the Rawl. passage the break in the tablet may have lost the la(l).

22 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU me-en	king of Shumer and Akkad, am I.
23 ud dingir dingir En-lil dingir En-ki	When the gods, Bel and Ea,
24 ù dingir gal-gal e-ne	and the great gods,
25 UNUG(-ki) uru ul	had completed the city of Erech,
26 šu-mu-šú ne-in-si-eš-a	to my hand they entrusted it.
27 nam-bi-šú	As for its destiny,
28 dingir Nin-šaḫ lugal-mu-ra	to the goddess Ninšaḫ, my king,
29 nam-ga me unu ag-da-mu-ta	who is decision and law, through my work,
30 É-me-ra-ba sag-ila	the temple, E-me-ra-ba, was erected,[a]
31 ki-tuš nam-dingir-bi-šú dim-ma	a dwelling constructed to his godhead,
32 nam-ti-mu-šú	for my life,
33 mu-na-rú	I built (it).
34 diri(g) ud-bi-te-šú	For extraordinary occasions,
35 É-šu-sig-ga mu-dagal	the temple, E-šu-sig-ga, I enlarged,
36 te mu-pad-da dingir lugal-mu	the foundation named after my god-king,
37 ud ul-šú im-mi-gar	for long days (ages) was laid.

NO. IX

[HILPRECHT, *The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Penn.*, Vol. I, Pl. 58, No. 128]

1 dingir NE-URUGAL[1]	To the god Nergal,
2 en-maḫ á-KAL im-[tug][2]	the great lord, the mighty one, the illustrious,
3 sag ḫuš-a zag[3]ila(!)	the splendid governor, the eminent overseer,
4 BIR šu-zi-ga ù ki-du-ba	the destroyer, the ferocious one, the pre-eminent
5 erim-šú ḫa-ra(!) šar-ag	against the enemy, who reduces strongholds.
6 lugal-a-ni-ir	For his king,
7 nam-ti	the life of
8 dingir Eri[4] dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
9 nitaḫ lig-ga	the valiant hero,
10 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
11 lugal KI-EN-GI-ki URDU-ka-šú	king of Shumer and Akkad
12 dingir Nin-ib-ga mi-?	god Ninib, ...
13 galu KU-A En-lil	who occupies Nippur(!).
14 dum-?-?-[5]	son . . . . .

[1] *Cf.* Thureau-Dangin in *REC*, 224, note.

[2] On basis of IV R. 35, 6, I, 10, and Len. 70, I, 11.

[3] *Cf.* reading of Cone 2.

[4] Syllabically Ri-im.

[5] Last four lines not legible.

[a] Sag-ila = našû ša rêši, šaḳû ša rêši, Br. 3612, 3614.

15 ud id	day, canal . . . .
16 mu šág ? ?	name, benevolent . . . . .
17 ? ? ? ?	. . . . .

NO. X

[*Mittheilungen des akad. orient. Vereins zu Berlin*, Vol. I, p. 16][1]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Ninni . . . . . ki	To Nanâ of the city [of Hallab][a]
2 nin-mu-ra	my lady,
3 Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,
4 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
5 nam-ti-mu-šú	for my life,
6 ù nam-ti Ku-du-ur-ma-ba-uk	and the life of Kudurmabuk,
7 a-a MUḪ-mà-ga	my father and progenitor,
8[2] Gi-unu-ki azag	the beautiful Gi-unu,
9 ki-tuš nam-ur-sag-ka-ni	a dwelling (to commemorate his) heroism

COLUMN II

1 mu-na-rú	I built.
2 kur LIL-DU-dim	Like the mountain Lildu,
3 sag-ga ḫu-mu-ni-il	I reared it aloft.
4 nig-ag-mu-šú	For my work
5 ḫa-ma-?-i	may she . . . . .
6 nam-ti ud gid-du-ma(?)-aš	a life of long days
7 ḫa-ma-an-ba-e	may she grant me!

NO XI

[*Mittheilungen des akad. orient. Vereins zu Berlin*, Vol. I, p. 17][3]

COLUMN I

1 dingir Nin-e-[gal][4]	To the goddess Ninegal,
2 nin-gal me ab šu-na	the great lady, the arbitrator of men, who rules
3 ùg šar-ra nu	the people, restrained . . . . .
4 na-ri maḫ aš(?)	supremely excellent . . . . .

[1] Transliteration is based on that in *KB*, III, 96, as the original text was not accessible.

[2] This name is changed from Winckler's transliteration to accord with the plain reading of apparently the same name in *PSBA*, XIII, 159, I, 10 and II, 3.

[3] Based entirely on transliteration in *KB*, III, 96.

[4] Filled out on basis of Col. II, 10.

[a] *Cf.* No. VI, *PSBA*, XIII, 159, I, 1.

5 a DU(?) bi	. . . . .
[*lines 6–11 broken away*]	
12	. . . . .
13 . . . . dingir Ninni	. . . . . the goddess Nanâ
14 dam ki-ág	beloved consort of
15 dingir Eri dingir Aku	Rim-Sin,

COLUMN II

1 lugal ARARMA(-ki)-ma	king of Larsa,
2 dumu-sal Eri dingir Nannar-ge	daughter of Rim-Nannar,
3 ud dingir Nin-e-gal nin-a-ni	when Ninegal, his lady,
4 mu-ság-ga ni-in-sá-a	called her in favor.
5 É-á-ag-ga-ab-ur-ur	The temple, E-a-ag-ga-ab-ur-ur,
6 ki-tuš nim-dingir-bi-šú dim-ma	the dwelling constructed for her godhead,
7 nam-ti dingir Eri dingir Aku	that the life of Rim-Sin
8 ud da-er-šú gál-li-ni	may continue for ever,
9 ù nam-ti-la-ni-šú	and for her own life,
10 mu-na-rú	I built.
11 diri(g) ud-bi-te-šú	For extraordinary occasions
12 É-šu-sig-ga.	the temple, E-šu-sig-ga,
13 mu-nu-dagal	I enlarged,
14 te mu-pad-da nam-nin-a-ka-na	the foundation named after her dominion
15 ud gid-du-e im-mi-in-gar	for long days was laid.

SOME OBSERVATIONS

The contents of the preceding inscriptions are quite varied in character. They suggest the civil and religious activities of Kudurmabuk, son of Simtishilḫak, the Elamite, touching several cities of lower Babylonia. It is evident at the outset that the Elamite governor (adda) of Emutbal (or, and, Mar-tu) is conferring upon his son Eri-Aku, or Semitic Rim-Sin, authority or kingship over the cities which have fallen into his (the father's) hands. It is also plain that both have so far become Semitized and acclimated as freely to worship the divinities of the newly acquired territory. Temples are built and dedicated in several cities to divinities who occupy chief place in those cities.

In the first inscription Kudurmabuk, governor of Martu, built the temple E-nun-maḫ to Nannar, that is, the god Sin, the patron deity of "Ur of the Chaldees," as a gift for his own life, and for the life of his son Rim-Sin, who is now specified as the king of Larsa. As if to magnify his devotion to this deity, Kudurmabuk, in the second inscription, devotes the temple E-me-ur-ur to the goddess Nanâ, the daughter of Sin. He specifies that his son, Rim-Sin, is now shepherd of Nippur, preserver of Ur, king of Larsa, and of Shumer and Akkad.

Rim-Sin's own nine documents give us a body of information touching his many activities in Babylonia. His office seems to have been the gift of Bel (No. III). He repeatedly calls himself the "preserver of Ur," "king of Larsa," "king of Shumer and Akkad." He enlarged the city of Ur, rebuilt its ruins, and dedicated its wall (or fortress) to Nannar (Sin), the patron deity of the city (No. III). Two of his inscriptions (Nos. IV and VIII) are dedicated to the god Ninshakh, sometimes identified with Ninib, whose headquarters were in Erech. In No. IV Rim-Sin calls himself "shepherd of Nippur," whereas in No. VIII the passage reads "shepherd of all the people of Bel." In both he is mentioned as the one who arranged for the completion of the construction of Eridu; and also as the one to whom Bel and Ea entrusted the city Erech on its completion. To the god Ninshakh, Rim-Sin built and dedicated in Erech the temple E-daggasummu (No. IV), and enlarged E-shu-sig-ga. He is also specified as the "reverer of the temple E-udda," and "the ruler of Girsu and Lagash."

Two inscriptions (Nos. VI and X) are dedicated to Nanâ, of the city of Hallab, daughter of Sin, as was the first of Kudurmabuk's. In both, Rim-Sin built "the beautiful Gi-unu" for this charming goddess.

Rim-Sin dedicates one inscription (No. V) to Nannar, as had Kudurmabuk, his father. Here Rim-Sin appears as "sustainer of E-kur," the temple of Bel in Nippur, "ruler of E-gishshirgal," temple of Sin in Ur, and "director of E-barra"—three very famous temples in southern Babylonia. He also completed the construction of Eridu. Reaching out to other cities, he increased the free-will offerings of the temple E-ninnû in Lagash,and dedicated to Nannar and Shamash, the moon-god and sun-god respectively, the temple, E-shar-mu-un-ne.

One document (No. VII) is dedicated to the goddess Ni-in-si-na, that is, Bau, daughter of Anu, consort of Nin-gir-su. Two temples are here mentioned, E-u-namtila and E-lum-elbi; and request is made that his days may be prolonged in Larsa.

One brief, broken inscription (No. IX) is dedicated to Nergal, whose chief seat was in Cuthah. On the broken lines we seem to find the god Ninib, and the city Nippur, named once before (No. IV) as a city over which Rim-Sin exercised authority.

The last inscription (No. XI) is dedicated to Ninegal. In this broken document we learn that the wife of Rim-Sin was the daughter of Rim-Nannar. As in No. VIII, the enlargement of the temple E-shu-sig-ga is mentioned.

This brief analysis of the contents of these documents shows that Rim-Sin's authority was stretched over most of the important cities of lower Babylonia. We find in the list, Larsa, Ur, Erech, Eridu, Nippur, Lagash, and Shumer and Akkad. Among his divinities the more prominent are: Bel, Ea, Nannar (Sin), Shamash, Ninshakh, Nergal, Ninegal, Ninsina (Bau), and Nanâ. The cities Larsa, Eridu, and Ur seem to be most closely identified with Rim-Sin's religious and civil activities. His political career as revealed in other documents must be reserved for treatment elsewhere.

LIST OF PROPER NAMES

AN-MA-DA-BI . . . . , for one of the cities of Rim-Sin, IV R., 35, 6, I, 18.

ARARMA(-ki), [UD-UNU-KI], the city Larsa, Rim-Sin's headquarters, Cone 21; AO 3003, Obv. 9, Rev. 19; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 6; I R., 3, No. X, I, 12; AV, I, 16, I, 4; 17, II, 1; Len. 70, I, 13; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 10; I R., 2, No. III, 14; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 5.

AŠ-BABBAR(!) (dingir), probably name of a god, though the reading is not certain, IV R., 35, 6, I, 25.

É-A-AG-GA-AB-UR-UR, a temple constructed by the wife of Rim-Sin for the goddess Ninegal, AV, I, 17, II, 5.

É-A-AR-MA-AN-SAG-GA, a temple built by Rim-Sin in honor of his father Kudurmabuk and himself, IV R., 35, 6, II, 7.

É-BAR-RA, a temple over which Rim-Sin exercised authority, IV R., 35, 6, I, 11.

É-DA-AG-GA-SUM-MU, a temple built for the god Ninšaḫ by Rim-Sin, probably in Erech, I R., 3, No. X, II, 9.

É-KUR, a temple of Bel in Nippur, restored by Ḫammurabi (*Code of Ḫamm.*, I, 62), and maintained by Rim-Sin, IV R., 35, 6, I, 7.

É-LUM-EL-BI, a temple mentioned by Rim-Sin, AO 3003, Rev. 11.

É-ME-UR-UR, a temple built to Nanâ by Rim-Sin, Len., 70, I, 15.

É-ME-RA-BA, a temple built to the god Ninšaḫ by Rim-Sin, Cone 30.

ÉMUTBAL, probably a district of southwestern Elam over which Kudurmabuk was governor; a name possibly interchangeable with MARTU, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 9; Len., 70, I, 8.

É-NER-NU-GÁL, that is, É-GIŠŠIRGAL, temple of the moon-god in Ur, over which Rim-Sin was the pâkidu, "the overseer," IV R., 35, 6, I, 9.

É-NINNÛ, a temple in Lagash of which Rim-Sin increased the free-will offerings, IV R., 35, 6, I, 15.

É-NUN-MAḪ, a temple dedicated to Nannar by Kudurmabuk, I R. 2, No. III, 9.

EN-ZU (dingir), the moon-god Sin, whose chief city was Ur, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 2; Len., 70, I, 5; it forms the second half of the name Rim-Sin.

EN-KI (dingir), the god Ea, god of the deep, whose chief city was Eridu, Cone 23; I R., 3, No. X, II, 3.

EN-LIL-LÁ(L) (dingir), the god Bel, whose chief city was Nippur, Cone 11; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 4; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 13; En-lil-li, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 4.

É-SAG-ILA(?), a temple of Marduk in Babylon, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 11.

ERIDA(-ki) (*cf. CT*, XI, 49, 16*a*) [NUN-KI] the city Eridu, where Ea was the chief deity: Cone 12; I R., 3, No. X, I, 9; IV R., 35, 6, I, 13.

ERI dingir AKU, *vide* RIM-SIN.

É-ŠAR-MU-UN-NE, a temple dedicated to Nannar and Shamash by Rim-Sin, IV R., 35, 6, I, 21.

É-ŠU-SIG-GA, a temple enlarged by Rim-Sin for special occasions, AV, I, 17, II, 12; Cone 35.

É-TE-IM-ILA, a temple built by Rim-Sin in honor of his father and himself, IV R., 35, 6, II, 13.

É-UD-GAL-GAL, a temple mentioned by Rim-Sin, Cone 17.

É-UD-DA, a temple revered by Rim-Sin, Cone 14, 17; I R., 3, No. X, I, 11.

É-U-NAM-TI-LA, probably a temple built by Rim-Sin for the goddess Bau, AO 3003, Obv. 12.

É-URU-ḪUL-LA, a temple built by Rim-Sin in honor of his father and himself, IV, IV R., 35, 6, II, 12.

UNUG(-ki), [UNU-KI], the city Erech, over which Rim-Sin, at the instance of Bel and Ea, held sway, I R., 3, No. X, II, 5.

URDU, Akkad, city or province(?) ruled over

by Rim-Sin; always mentioned with and following Shumer, Cone 22; AO 3003, Obv. 10; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 7; 3, No. X, II, 1; Len. 70, I, 14.

URU(-ki), [ŠEŠ-UNU-KI], the city Ur, Cone 13; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 5; I R., 3, No. X, I, 10; Len., 70, I, 12.

BABBAR (dingir), [UD], another reading for UTU.

GI-UNU(-ki), a palace or temple built by Rim-Sin for Nanâ: PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 10; II, 3; AV, I, 16, I, 8.

GIR-SU(-ki), city, a part of the group of cities at Lagash, Cone 15; IV R., 35, 6, I, 16.

ZABABU, the city Ḫallab, of which Nanâ was ruler, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 1. (*Cf.* KING, *Letters of Ḫammurabi*, Vol. III, p. 184.)

KI-EN-GI(-ki), a place always associated with Shumer, Cone 22; AO 3003, Obv. 10; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 7; 3, No. X, II, 1; Len., 70, I, 14; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 11.

KUDURMABUK, governor [ad-da] of Emutbal (and Martu), father of Rim-Sin, and dedicator of several temples, AO 3003, Obv. 19; AV, I, 16, I, 6; IV R., 35, 6, II, 10; Len., 70, I, 7; I R., 2, No. III, 3; 5, No. XVI, I, 8; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 8.

LIL-DU (kur), probably a steep mountain after the form of which some temples were said to have been built, AV, I, 16, II, 2; PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 4.

MAR-TU(kur), a country of which Kudurmabuk was governor (ad-da); generally the place named is Emutbal, I R., 2, No. III, 4.

NANNAR (dingir), the god Nannar (=Sin), moon-god of Ur, I R., 2, No. III, 6, 10; IV R., 35, 6, I, 1, 20; I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 3, 10; AV, I, 17, II, 2.

NANNAR-GIRI-MA-DA-GÍ-EN-GÍ-EN, name of a wall or fortress dedicated to Nannar, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 10.

NE-URUGAL (Br. 9202), the god Nergal whose chief city was Cutha; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 1.

NIN-E-GAL (dingir), a goddess, probably same as Nin-gal, to whom Rim-Sin's wife, a daughter of Rim-Nannar, erected and dedicated a temple, AV, I, 17, II, 3.

NIN-IB (dingir), a god identical with Ningirsu, whose temple É-Ninnû stood in Girsu, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 12.

NINNI (dingir), the goddess Nanâ, the Ishtar of Erech, daughter of Anu, her chief temples being in Erech, Agade, and Ur; she is designated by Rim-Sin as being queen of heaven and earth. AV, I, 16, I, 1; 17, I, 13; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 1; Len., 70, I, 1; II, 6.

NIN-IN-SI-NA (dingir), the goddess Bau, consort of Ningirsu, daughter of Anu, AO 3003, Obv. 1; Rev. 13.

NIN-ŠAḪ (dingir), a god who had a temple at Erech; sometimes identified with Ninib (*cf.* Brünnow, No. 11006). Cone 1, 28; I R., 3, No. X, I, 1; II, 7.

NIPPURU(-ki) [EN-LIL-KI], the city Nippur, over which Rim-Sin exercised authority, I R., 3, No. X, I, 8; Len., 70, I, 11.

SIMTIŠILḪAK, father of Kudurmabuk, grandfather of Rim-Sin, I R., 2, No. III, 5; Len., 70, I, 9.

RIM-NANNAR, father of Rim-Sin's wife, AV, I, 17, II, 2.

RIM-SIN, semitized form of ERI-AKU, appearing in the form: 1) dingir Ri-im dingir En-zu, Cone 9; AO 3003, Obv. 6; I R., 3, No. X, I, 7; AV, I, 17, II, 7; Len., 70, I, 10; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 8; 2) Eri (=Rim) dingir En-zu, I R., 2, No. III, 13; AV, I, 16, I, 3; AV, I, 17, I, 15; IV R., 35, 6, I, 6; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 2; son of Kudurmabuk, an Elamite governor of Martu; last king of the Elamite dynasty of Ur.

ŠIR-PUR-LA(-ki), the city Lagash, of which Gir-su formed a part, IV R., 35, 6, I, 16; possibly in Cone 15.

GLOSSARY

A, mû, "water": a-ba, AO 3003, Obv. 16.

A-A, abu, "father": a-a, AO 3003, Obv. 20; IV R., 35, 6, II, 11; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 9; AV, I, 16, I, 7.

Á-ÁG-GÀ, urtu, tertu, "oracle, command": Len., 70, I, 3; Cone 5.

AB, 1) bîtu, "house": AO 3003, Rev. 19; 2) abû, father, IV R., 35, 6, I, 11; "community of men" (*HWB*, 111*b*): me ab šu-na, AV, I, 17, I, 2.

AG, 1) rapâšu, "extend, spread": ag-ag-ne, AO 3003, Rev. 8; 2) "make, do, execute, order," šu-ne-ne-in-ag, IV R., 35, 6, I, 19; ag-da-mu-ta, Cone 29 (*cf.* Br. 2778).

ÁG, râmu, "beloved, delightful to": ág-e, I R., 3, No. X, I, 2; *vide* ki-ág.

AD-DA, abû, "father," and probably "governor": ad-da kur MAR-TU, I R., 2, No. III, 4; ad-da E-mu-ut-ba-la, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 9; Len., 70, I, 8 (*cf.* King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, Vol. III, p. 198).

AZAG, ellu, ibbu, "bright, brilliant, resplendent": an azag-ga, AO 3003, Obv. 4; IV R., 35, 6, I, 2; unu azag-ga, AO 3003, Obv. 13.

Á-KAL, emûḳu, "might, strength": á-kal, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 2.

AN, šamû, "heavens": an azag-ga, AO 3003, Obv. 4; nin an-ki, Len., 70, II, 6.

APIN, 1) uššu, "foundation;" 2) narṭabu, "canal, water supply": apin-bi, AO 3003, Rev. 10.

A-RA-ZU, teṣlîtu, "prayer, request": a-ra-zu-e, Cone 7; a-ra-zu-ni, I R., 2, No. III, 7 (*cf.* II R., 39, 76*e*).

É, êkallu, "palace, temple": É-u-nam-ti-la, AO 3003, Obv. 12; é-a, *ibid.*, Obv. 15; é-a-ni, IV R., 35, 6, II, 5; for the various names of temples, *vide* "List of Proper Names."

EGIR, arku, rûḳu, "after, later, extended, future": egir ud-da-rum, AO 3003, Rev. 7; maš egir IV R., 35, 6, I, 3.

E(N), 1) šûpû, "glorious, resplendent," e(n)-a mu-na-rú, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 6; 2) aṣû, "go forth, escape, bear, occur": maš egir e(n), IV R., 35, 6, I, 3.

EN, bêlu, "lord": en gal-gal-la, Cone 2; en gal-lal, I R., 3, No. X, II, 2; IV R., 35, 6, I, 2.

E-NE, suffix of the plural: dagal-e-ne, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 10; gal-gal-e-ne, I R., 3, No. X, II, 4, and often.

ENGAR, ikkaru, "husbandman": engar zi, Cone 13.

ERIM, aibu, "enemy, foe": erim-šú, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 5.

EŠ-A, pron. suf., 3d pers. sg., attached to verbs: ma-ni-in-si-eš-a, Cone 26; I R., 3, No. X, II, 6.

IGI, pânu, "face, in presence of, before": IV R., 35, 6, II, 2, 3; igi-šú I R., 3, No. X, I, 5.

IGI-É-DI, tabrâtu, naplusu, "wonder, astonishment, marvel" (*cf.* *HWB*, 184*a*): PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 7; me-te IGI-É-DI, IV R., 35, 6, II, 15.

ILA, našû, "lift up, erect, dedicate": sag-ga ḫu-mu-ni-in-ila, AV, I, 16, II, 3; sag-bi mu-ni-in-il-ne, Len., 70, II, 3; ši-ne-in-ila, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 6.

IM, "self, own": mu-bi-im, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 11.

IM-TUG, gašru, "strong, illustrious, mighty": siba im-tug, Len., 70, I, 11; galu im-tug, IV R., 35, 6, I, 10; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 2.

IR, postposition, ana, "for": lugal-a-ni-ir, I R., 2, No. III, 2; I R., 3, No. X, I, 6; and often.

U, akâlu, rêtu, "food, sustenance": É-u-nam-ti-la, AO 3003, Obv. 12, in the name of a temple.

Ù, conj. "and, also": Cone 4; AO 3003, Obv. 18; AV, I, 16, I, 6; I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 2; I R., 3, No. X, I, 4.

U-A, zaninu, "supporter, preserver": said of Rim-Sin regarding Ur, Cone 13; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 5; I R., 3, No. X, I, 10; Len., 70, I, 12; AO 3003, Obv. 8; regarding É-kur-ra, IV R., 35, 6, I, 7.

UB, 1) kibratu, "region, quarter, realm, kingdom": ub-mu ag-ag-ne, AO 3003, Rev. 8; ub-ga, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 12; 2) tubḳu, "limits, horizon" (*cf. HWB*, 701*a*): gid si ub, Len., 70, II, 12.

ÙG, nišu, "peoples, mankind, family": ùg-ki En-lil-la[-ki], Cone 11; ùg- . . . En-lil-k[i], I R., 3, No. X, I, 8; nu ùg še-ga, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 15.

UD, ûmu, "day"; as adverb of time, "when, as, at that time": ud ul-šú, Cone 37; ud ul-ni-a-ta, AO 3003, Obv. 15; ud-da-rum, *ibid.*, Rev. 7; IV R., 35, 6, II, 16; ud-mu, AO 3003, Rev. 21; ud-bi-te-šú, AV, I, 17, II, 11; ud-du, Len., 70, II, 8.

UL, ullu, "at a distance, eternity": ud ul-šú, Cone 37; ud ul-ni-a-ta, AO 3003, Obv. 15; uru ul, I R., 3, No. X, II, 5.

UNU, šubtu, "dwelling, dwelling-place": Cone 29; tu unu, AO 3003, Obv. 13; unu-ba, I R., 3, No. X, I, 2; also the first element in the proper names, UNU(-ki), Erech; the second element in the names, UD-UNU(-ki), that is, ARARMA(-ki) Larsa; and ŠEŠ-UNU(-ki), that is, URU(-ki) Ur; *vide* Proper Names.

UR, mitḫaru, "united, with one accord, equal": dug kalag, UR.A.SE.DI, Len., 70, II, 10; bal sag, UR.SE.KI, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 11.

URU, alu, "city": AO 3003, Rev. 20; uru ul, Cone 25; I R., 3, No. X, II, 5; uru-šú, AO 3003, Rev. 6; IV R., 35, 6, I, 18; uru-šú-ni-ne, Len., 70, II, 11; uru-ni, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 8.

URAŠ, barû, "see, utter an oracle" (*HWB*, 182*b*): mu-uraš, Len., 70, I, 4.

BA, pron. suf. 3d pers. sing.: a-ba, AO 3003, Obv. 16; bad-ba, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 9, and often.

BA, ḳâšu, "give, bestow": ḫa-ma-en-ba-e, AV, I, 16, II, 6, 7.

BABBAR, namâru ša ûmi (Br. 7785), "brilliancy of the day": babbar ga-ni-ta, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 16.

BAD, dûru, "wall, fortress": bad gal, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 5; bad-ba, *ibid.*, 9.

BAL, tamû, "speak, swear, assure": bal sud-ud, AO 3003, Rev. 16; bal gi-na, Len., 70, II, 9; bal sag, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 11.

BE, pašâḫu, "be quiet, be consoled": ù-mu-ne-BE-ge, Len., 70, II, 7.

BI, pron. suf. 3d pers. masc. and fem., sing. and pl.: ní-bi-šú, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 6; ki-bi, IV R., 35, 6, II, 6.

BI, demons. pron., "this, these": ne-ne-bi, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 1.

BI, ḳibû, "order, command": tug-tug-ne mu-na-bi, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 1.

BIR, maḫâṣu šaḳâšu, "overthrow, break down, destroy": BIR šu-zi-ga, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 4.

GÀ, kânu, šakânu, "establish, make firm, do": im-ma-an-gà-ge, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 2; gà-ra, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 16; im-te-gà, I R., 3, No. X, I, 11; IV R., 35, 6, I, 22.

GAL, rabû, "be great, become great," adj. "great, large": gal-la, I R., 3, No. X, I, 4; gal-lal, I R, 3, No. X, II, 2; gal-li-eš (=ra-biš, IV R., 9, 15*a*), AO 3003, Rev. 4; redupl. form, gal-gal: en gal-gal-la, Cone 2; ud gal-gal-la-e, Cone 17; dingir gal-gal-e-ne, I R., 3, No. X, II, 4; gal-gal-e-ne-ir, Cone 6; dingir gal-gal-e-ne-ta, Len., 70, II, 12.

GÁL, bašû, "be, exist, remain, have": uru-šú ḫe-im-mi-gál, AO 3003, Rev. 6; ḫe-gál-la, *ibid.*, 16; du(g)-gál, Len., 70, I, 2.

GALU, amêlu, "man, the one who": galu KU.A, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 13.

GAL-ZU, rubû + îdu, "great + wise" (*cf.* gal-an-zu = ir-šu-ti, *HWB*, 196*b*) gal-zu, I R., 3, No. X, I, 13.

GAR, (1) šakânu, "make, do"; (2) šarâḳu, "give, bestow, grant": ud ul-šú im-mi-gar, Cone 37: é-a ni-gar, AO 3003, Obv.

15; gar-ra, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 4; ud gid-du-e im-mi-in-gar, AV, I, 17, II, 15; (3) kânu, "be firm": gar-zi (= kittu, Br. 12017), AO 3003, Obv. 11; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 3.

GE, suffix of the genitive: URDU-ge, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 7; an-ki-ge, Len., 70, II, 6; and often.

GI, kânu, "make firm, secure": gi-na, Len., 70, II, 9.

GÍ, (1) šalâmu, "establish, complete": luḫ gí pa, Cone 4; Nannar-giri-ma-da-gí-en-gí-en, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 10; (2) târu, "turn, return, restore, bring back": ki-bi ḫe-im-mi-gí, AO 3003, Rev. 2; gí-gí, IV R., 35, 6, I, 17; gí-gí-ne, *ibid.*, II, 6.

GID, arku, rûḳu, "after, long, extended, future": ud gid-du-e, AV, I, 17, II, 15; mu gid-du, Len., 70, II, 9; gid SI.UB, *ibid.*, 12.

GIN, kênu, "secure, fixed, certain": gin uru-šú, AO 3003, Rev. 6; gin-ni (= kenîš, Br. 2391), *ibid.*, 17; mu-gin(!) ud-ni-a, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 9.

GIRI, ḫalâpu, "found, establish, clothe with something": giri gin-ni, AO 3003, Rev. 17; also in the proper name, Nannar-giri-ma-da-gí-en-gí-en, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 10; the noun is, "foundation."

GIŠ-GU-ZA, kussû, "throne, seat": giš-gu-za giri gin-ni, AO 3003, Rev. 17.

GIŠ-ḪAR, uṣurtu, "boundary, limits": me giš-ḫar, Cone 12; I R., 3, No. X, I, 9; IV R., 35, 6, I, 12.

GIŠ-TUG, šemû, "hear, heed"; magâru (*CT*, XII, 34, 31 *cd*), "submit, yield"; šarru, "rule": . . . . . giš-tug, Cone 7; IV R., 35, 6, I, 4.

GUB, nazâzu, "set, stand, establish": apin-bi ki-ḫe-ne-gub, AO 3003, Rev. 10; ḫe-ne-gub, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 8; gub-? IV R., 35, 6, I, 24.

GUL, abâtu, "destroy, ruin": gul im-ma-an-si-ga, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 2.

GU-UL, is this the same as gu-la = rabû, šurbu, "increase"? *Cf.* Br. 11143, 11144, gu-ul gu-ul, IV R., 35, 6, I, 14 (*cf.* KING, *Hamm.*, Vol. III, pp. 202, 54).

GU-ŠÁG-ŠÁG, temeḳu, "fervency, fervent prayer" (*HWB*, 89*a*): I R., 3, No. X, II, 8 (*cf.* KING, *Hamm.*, Vol. III, pp. 174, 14).

DA-ER, dâru, "eternity, forever": ud da-er-šú, AV, I, 17, II, 8.

DAGAL, ummu, "mother": dagal kalam-ma, AO 3003, Obv. 2.

DAGAL, rapâšu, "extend, enlarge": mu-dagal, Cone 35; mu-nu-dagal, AV, I, 17, II, 13; adj. rapšu, "enlargement, expansion": dagal-e-ne, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 10.

DAM, ḫâ'iru, "mate"; aššatu, "wife": dam ki-âg dingir Eri dingir Aku, AV, I, 17, I, 14, 15.

DIM, kima, "like": kur LIL-DU-dim, AV, I, 16, II, 2.

DIM, banû, epêšu, "build, make": dim-ma, Cone 31; AV, I, 17, II, 6; dim-dim-me, AO 3003, Obv. 3; ba-dim-me-na-gà, *ibid.*, Rev. 20.

DINGIR, ilu, "god": dingir gal-gal-e-ne-ta, Len., 70, II, 12; dingir dingir, Cone 23; dingir dingir En-lil dingir En-ki, I R., 3, No. X, II, 2; and always before the names of deities; *vide*, under "List of Proper Names."

DIRI(G), malû, âtâru, "be full, leave over, make great, be superfluous": diri(g) ud-bi-te-šú, Cone 34; AV, I, 17, II, 11.

DÚ, našû ša ini (Br. 4484), "lift up the eyes": igi ma-ni-in-dú-a, IV R., 35, 6, II, 2; dú(!)a-šú, Cone 19.

DÙ, êpêšu, "do, make": é-a-ni dù NE, IV R., 35, 6, II, 5.

DUB, pašâḫu, "soothe one's self, be at rest": ki-im-dub-bu-da-ni, AO 3003, Obv. 14.

DU(G), ṭâbu, "good, pious": šag du(g)-ga-na, AO 3003, Rev. 3; mu du(g), PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 12; du(g) ùg UR, Len., 70, II, 10; du(g)-gál, Len., 70, I, 2

DUG, (1) kibîtu, "word, command": dug-ga-ni, Cone 3; I R., 3, No. X, I, 5; (2) nadû, "do, plan" (*cf.* *HWB*, 448*b*): ma-an-dug-ga, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 2.

DUMU, aplu, "son": dumu-sag, AO 3003, Obv. 4; dumu nun, IV R., 35, 6, I,

2; dumu-ni, Len., 70, I, 10; dum, before proper names, in I R., 2, No. III, 5; Len., 70, I, 9; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 8.

DUM(U)-SAL, mârtu, "daughter": dum(u)-sal Eri dingir Nannar-ge, AV, I, 17, II, 2; dum(u)-sal Eri dingir En-zu-na, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 4; Len., 70, I, 5.

ZAG, ašaridu, "governor, ruler": zag ila, Cone 2; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 3.

ZI, (1) kênu, "faithful": sag-zi, Cone 3; engar-zi, Cone 13; (2) imnu, "right hand": zi-da-mu-ta, I R., 3, No. X, II, 8; (3) napištu, "life": zi-gál (=šiknat napišti, "bestower of life"), AO 3003, Obv. 3; zi ti-li-ni-šú, IV R., 35, 6, I, 24.

ZU, îdû, "know, be wise": gal-zu, I R., 3, No. X, I, 3.

ḪA-RA (!), (ḫa-ra-an-kal = ḫalṣu, "stronghold, fortress," Br. 11843): erim-šú ḫa-ra(!) šar-ag, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 5.

ḪAR-SAG, šadû, "mountain": ḫar-sag-ga, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 5; nin ḫar-sag, Len., 70, I, 1; ḫar-sag-da, *ibid.*, II, 4.

ḪUL, ḫadû, "rejoice": nin-mu ḫu-mu-ḫul-li-en, AO 3003, Rev. 14; É-uru-ḫul-la-ka-ni, IV R., 35, 6, II, 12.

ḪUŠ(-A), ḫuššu, ruššu, "splendid, magnificent": sag ḫuš-a, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 3.

KA, postposition, ana, ina, "in, upon": nam-ur-sag-ka-ni, AV, I, 16, I, 9; and often.

KALAG, ašṭu, dannu, "strong, mighty": dug kalag, Len., 70, II, 10.

KALAMA, mâtu, "land, country": ka-lama, AV, I, 17, I, 3; AO 3003, Obv. 3; kalam-ma, AO 3003, Obv. 2; PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 7.

KI, ašru, "place": ki, IV R., 35, 6, I, 17; II, 6; ki-bi, AO 3003, Rev. 2; UR.SE.KI, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 11.

KI, irṣitu, "earth": nin an-ki, Len., 70, II, 6; an-ki-a, Cone 5.

KI-ÁG, narâmu, "beloved": ki-ág, AV, I, 17, I, 14; ki-ág-ga-ni, I R., 3, No. X, II, 10; Len., 70, I, 16.

KI-DU-BA, elîtu, "pre-eminent": OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 4.

KI-TUŠ, šubtu, "dwelling, dwelling-place": Cone 31; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 12: AO 3003, Rev. 3; I R., 3, No. X, II, 10; AV, I, 16, I, 9; AV, I, 17, II, 6; IV R., 35, 6, I, 21.

KU, rubû, "great": Len., 70, I, 4.

KU-A, ašâbu, "dwell in, occupy": galu KU-A En-lil . . OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 13.

KUR, šadû, "mountain"; mâtu, "country"; irṣitu, "earth": kur-ra-ni-ta, Len., 70, II, 11; kur LIL-DU-dim, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 4; AV, I, 16, II, 2.

KUR, kašâdu, "conquer, accomplish, reach, attain": nam-ḫe-en-ne-ib-kur-ri, Len., 70, II, 13.

LIG-GA, dannu, "mighty, strong, valiant": nitaḫ lig-ga, Cone 9; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 2; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 9.

LUGAL, šarru, "king, lord": AO 3003, Obv. 9, 10, and often before names of Ur, and Larsa; lugal-mu, I R., 5, No XVI, II, 3; lugal-mu-ra, Cone 8, 28; I R., 3, No. X, II, 7; IV R., 35, 6, I, 5; lugal-a-ni-ir, I R., 2, No. III, 2; 3, No. X, I, 6; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 6; lugal-la-na-šú, IV R., 35, 6, I, 23.

LUḪ, suk(k)allu, "plenipotentiary, minister, overseer" (*HWB*, 498*b*): luḫ maḫ, Cone 4; I R., 3, No. X, I, 4.

MÀ, pron. suffix 1st pers. sing., ya, "my, mine": AO 3003, Rev. 5, and often.

MA-DA mâtu, "country": I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 10, in the proper name; nannar-giri-ma-da-gí-en-gí-en.

MAḪ, (1) rubû, "great": luḫ maḫ, Cone 4; ù luḫ gà, Cone 4; na-ri maḫ, AV, I, 17, I, 4; (2) bêlu, "take in hand, rule, exalt": mu-maḫ, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 11.

MAŠ, ašaridu, "chief, ruler": maš egir e(n), IV R., 35, 6, I, 3.

ME, parṣu, "law, statute, ordinance": me giš-ḫar, Cone 12; I R., 3, No. X, I, 9; IV R., 35, 6, I, 12; Len., 70, I, 2; Cone 29.

ME, ḳâlu, "announce, call out with vigor": he-me, Cone 3.

ME-EN, pers. pron., anaku, "I, me": Cone 22; AO 3003, Obv. 11; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 5; I R., 5, XVI, I, 9; IV R., 35, 6, I, 15, 17.

ME-TE, simtu, simâtu, "ornament, deco-

ration, display": me-te IGI-É-DI, IV R., 35, 6, II, 15.

MU, pron. suffix, 1st pers. sing.: lugal-mu-ra, IV R., 35, 6, I, 5; and often.

MU, šamû, "name": AO 3003, Rev. 5; Len., 70, II, 9; PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 12; AV, I, 17, II, 4; mu-bi-im, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 11.

MUḪ, alidu, "child, birth" (*cf. HWB*, 233): MUḪ-mà-ge, AO 3003, Obv. 20; IV R., 35, 6, II, 11; MUḪ-mà-ka, AV, I, 16, I, 7; MUḪ-mà-šú, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 9.

NAM, neg. lâ, "not": nam ḫe-en-ne-ib-kur-ri, Len., 70, II, 13.

NAM, šimtu, "destiny, fate": nam-bi-šú, Cone 27; Len., 70, II, 5.

NAM-UR-SAG, abstract of ur-sag, "heroism": nam-ur-sag-ka-ni, AV, I, 16, I, 9; nam-ur-sag-mà, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 12.

NAM(-GA), piristu, "decision": Cone 29.

NAM-DINGIR, ilûtu, "godhead, divinity": nam-dingir-bi-šú, Cone 31; AV, I, 17, II, 6.

NAM-LUGAL, šarrûtu, "kingdom": nam-lugal-la-mà, AO 3003, Rev. 5.

NAM-NIN, bêlûtu, "rule, dominion, ladyship" nam-nin-a-ka-na, AV, I, 17, II, 14.

NAM-NUN-NA, rubûtu, "greatness, princely rule," nam-nun-na-mà, AO 3003, Rev. 9.

NAM-TAR, šimtu, "destiny, decree": nam-tar nam-ti-la, AO 3003, Rev. 15.

NAM-TI, balâṭu, "life": AO 3003, Obv. 18; AV, I, 16, I, 6; IV R., 35, 6, II, 9; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 7; Len., 70, II, 8; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 7; I R., 2, No. III, 12; AV, I, 17, II, 7; nam-ti-la, AO 3003, Obv. 12, Rev. 15; IV R., 35, 6, II, 3; nam-ti-la-ne-ne-šú, Len., 70, II, 1; nam-ti-la-ni-šú, I R., 2, No. III, 11; AV, I, 17, II, 9; nam-ti-mu-šú, Cone 32; AO 3003, Obv. 17; I R., 3, No. X, II, 11; AV, I, 16, I, 5; IV R., 35, 6, II, 8; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 6.

NA-RI, alalu, ellu, teliltu, "excellent, splendid": na-ri maḫ, AV, I, 17, I, 4.

NE, (1) annû, "this, these": ne-ne-bi, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 1; (2) išâtu, "fire" (Br. 4584): É-a-ni dù si NE, IV R., 35, 6, II, 5.

NE-NE, pron. suf., 3d pers. plur.: nin-ne-ne-ir, Len., 70, I, 6; nam-ti-la-ne-ne-šú, Len., 70, II, 1.

NI, pron. suf., 3d pers. sing.: lugal-a-ni-ir, I R., 2, No. III, 2; and often.

NI, namâru, "be brilliant": NI-ne, Len., 70, II, 11.

NÍ, puluḫtu, "fear, reverence": ní-bi-šú, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 6.

NÍ-TE, puluḫtu, "fear, reverence": ní-te-gà, I R., 3, X, I, 11; IV R., 35, 6, I, 22.

NIG-AG, êpêšu, "work, accomplishment": nig-ag-mu-šú, AO 3003, Rev. 12; AV, I, 16, II, 4.

NIGIN, napḫaru, "all, the whole, multitude(!)": nigin-ba, Len., 70, I, 2 (*cf.* KING, *Hamm.*, p. 200, l. 24).

NIN, bêltu, "lady, queen": nin ḫar-sag, Len., 70, I, 1; nin an-ki-ge, *ibid.*, II, 6; nin-a-ni, AV, I, 17, II, 3; nin-a-ni-ir, AO 3003, Obv. 5; nin-gal, AO 3003, Obv. 2; AV, I, 17, I, 2; nin-mu, AO 3003, Rev. 14; nin-mu-ra, AV, I, 16, I, 2; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 3; nin-ne-ne-ir, Len., 70, I, 6.

NITAḪ, zikaru, "man": nitaḫ lig-ga, Cone 9; AO 3003, Obv. 7; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 2; OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 9.

NU, neg., lâ, "not": nu ùg še-ga, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 15.

NUN, rubû, "great, prince": dumu nun, IV R., 35, 6, I, 2; nun ní-te-ga, *ibid.*, 22.

SÁ, nabû, "name, call by name": mu ságga ni-in-sá-a, AV, I, 17, II, 4.

SAG, ḳaḳḳadu, "head, top, summit, pinnacle": PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 7, 11, Cone 16, sag-ga, AV, I, 16, II, 3; sag-bi, Len., 70, II, 3; sag-zi, Cone 3; sag-ni, IV R., 35, 6, II, 3; PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 12; sag-e-eš (=ana širiḳti, V R., 51, 22*a*, 51*b*), AO 3003, Rev. 18; PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 13; sag ḫuš, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 3.

SAG-ILA, našû ša rêši, šaḳû ša rêši, "lift up the head, lift up on high, forgive(!)": Cone 29.

SAG-KI, pânu, zîmu, pûtu, "front, face, appearance": gà-ra sag-ki, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 16.

SAG-LI-TAR, pâḳidu, "ruler, judicial governor": sag-li-tar Gir-su-ki, Cone 15; siba sag-li-tar, IV R., 35, 6, I, 8.

SAG-PA . . . . . : PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 9; (*cf.* sag-pa-rim(!), *CT*, XII, 40, 32; also ARNOLT, *Assyr. Dict.*, 703*b*).

SAL, mârtu, "daughter": *vide* DUMU-SAL.

SE, nadânu, nadû "give, subdue, cover": bal sag UR.SE.KI, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 11.

SI, malû, "fill, entrust": šu-mu-šú ma-ni-in-si-eš-a, Cone 26; I R., 3, No. X, II, 6; gid SI.UB, Len., 70, II, 12.

SÍ, enšu (Br. 9463), "weak, in disrepair": dû sí NE, IV R., 35, 6, II, 5.

SIBA, rê'û, "shepherd, ruler, overseer": AO 3003, Obv. 11; I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 3; 3, No. X, I, 8; siba tig, Cone 11; siba im-tug, Len., 70, I, 11; siba sag-li-tar, IV R., 35, 6, I, 8.

SI-DI, šutešuru, "make right, free, untarnished": si-di-e, Cone 5.

SU-ŠI, šalummatu, "glitter, glory": su-ši-ma, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 5.

SUD, arku, rûḳu, "after, behind, far away, in the future": sud-ud(=nisû, "be far away": *CT*, XII, 40, 35*ab*)-mu, AO 3003, Rev. 16; ud-mu ḫe-sud-sud-ud, *ibid.*, 21; ḫar-sag-dim ne-in-sud-uš (sud=šaḳû, Br. 7601; uš=šaḳû, Br. 5043), Len., 70, II, 4.

SUM, nadânu, "give, gift": sum-mu, Cone 6.

PA, ḫaṭṭu, "scepter": gà pa šu-ul, Cone 4.

PAD, tamû, zakâru, "call, name": mu-pad-da dingir lugal-mu, Cone 36.

PÁD-NINNI, nindabû, "freewill offering" (*HWB*, 448*b*): galu pád-ninni gu-ul gu-ul, IV R., 35, 6, I, 14.

PA+KAB+DU, šarâḳu, "give, present, bestow" (*HWB*, 691*a* f.): ḫu-mu-ni-PA+KAB+DU, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 14; ḫa-ma-ab-PA+KAB+DU-gi, AO 3003, Rev. 8 (*cf.* also KING, *Hamm.*, Vol. III, 204, 99, 100).

RA, postposition, ana, "for": lugal-mu-ra, Cone 8, 28; I R., 3, No. X, II, 7; IV R., 35, 6, I, 5.

RA, aḫâzu, "take possession of, occupy": uru-ni ḫe-im-mi-ra(!), I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 8.

RÚ, banû, "build, make, do": ba-rú, AO 3003, Obv. 16; mu-rú, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 3; mu-na-rú, Cone 33; I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 7; I R., 3, No. X, II, 12; AV, I, 16, II, 1; 17, II, 10; IV R., 35, 6, II, 14; Len., 70, II, 2; ḫu-mu-na-rú, AO 3003, Rev. 1; mu-na-ni-in-rú, I R., 2, No. III, 15.

ŠÁ, labâru, "become old, weak": ni-šá-ne, PSBA, XIII, 159, I, 14.

ŠAG, libbu, "heart": šag du(g)-gà-na, AO 3003, Rev. 3; šag-ka (šag-ka-ba=mûdu, Br. 7998), I R., 3, No. X, I, 3.

ŠAG-SAG, šarru (Br. 8016), "king": I R., 3, No. X, I, 4.

ŠÁG, damâḳu, damḳu, "be favorable, become favorable": I R., 3, No. X, I, 3; ság-ga, AV, I, 17, II, 4; ság-ga-ni, IV R., 35, 6, II, 1; ság-gi, I R., 3, No. X, II, 8; ság-ság, Cone 16.

ŠAR, mâdu, "much, many": ud-du šar, Len., 70, II, 8.

ŠAR-AG, šurru (=lapâtu, *HWB*, 687*b*), "overthrow, conquer": erim-šú ḫa-ra(!) šar-ag-e, OB, I, pl. 58, No. 128, 5.

ŠAR-RA(!) zarâbu, zarbiš (*HWB*, 263*b*), "restrain, suppress": šar-ra nu, AV, I, 17, I, 3.

ŠE, magâru, "be obedient, devoted to": mu-ši-in-še, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 4.

ŠE-GA, magâru, šemû (*cf. CT*, XII, 34, 29*c*. 35, 6*a*, *b*), "be obedient, hear, heed": nu ùg še-ga, PSBA, XIII, I, 15.

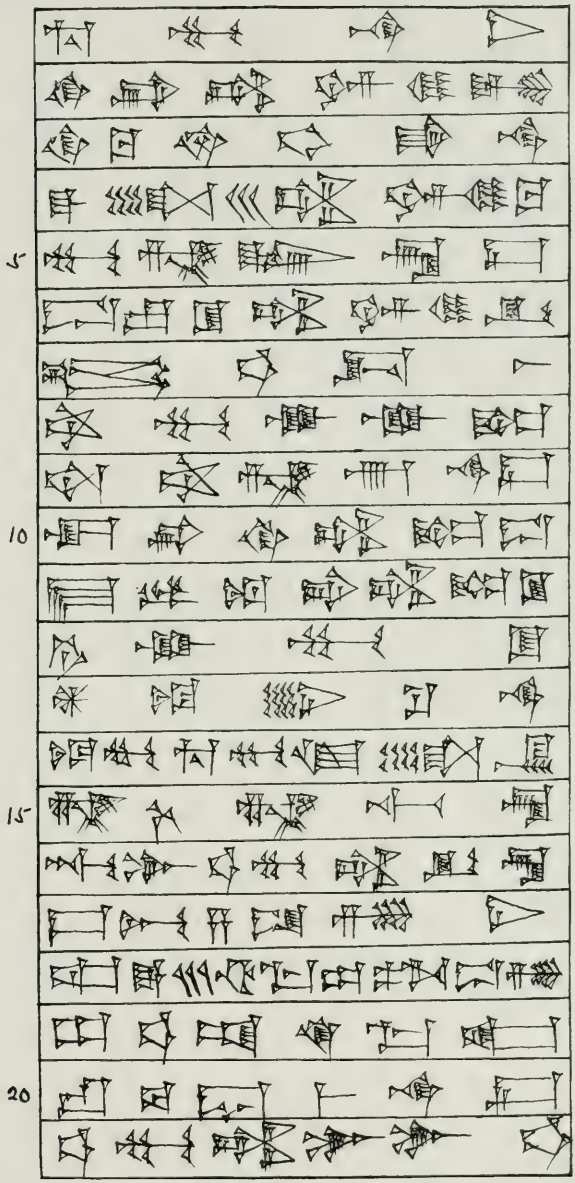
ŠI-ILA, našû ša îni (Br. 9352), "lifting up the eyes": ši-ne-in-ila, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 6.

ŠI+UM, abarakku (*cf. HWB*, 12*a*), "helper, protector": IV R., 35, 6, II, 1.

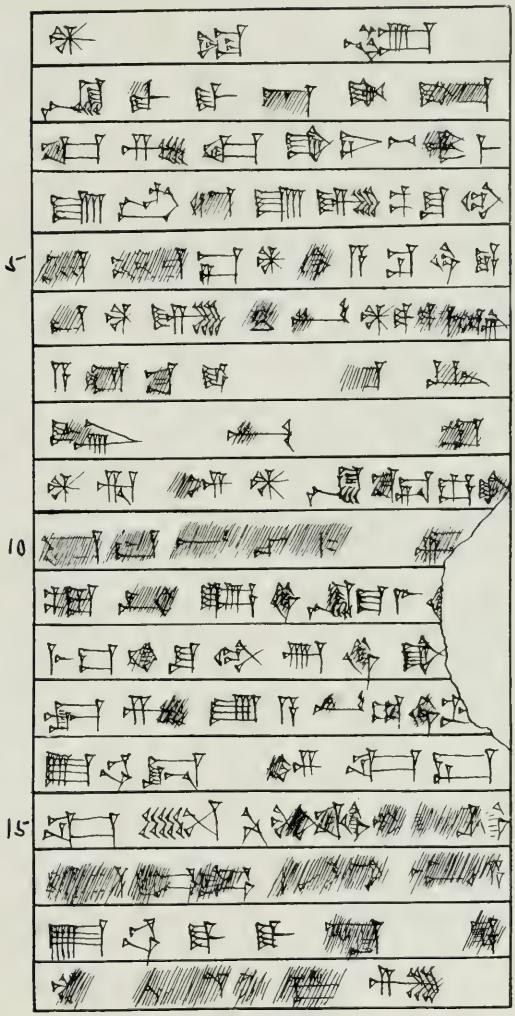
ŠI-BAR, barû, amâru, "look upon": mu-ši-in-bar, IV R., 35, 6, II, 4.

ŠI-DU, alik maḫri (Br. 9336), "come be-

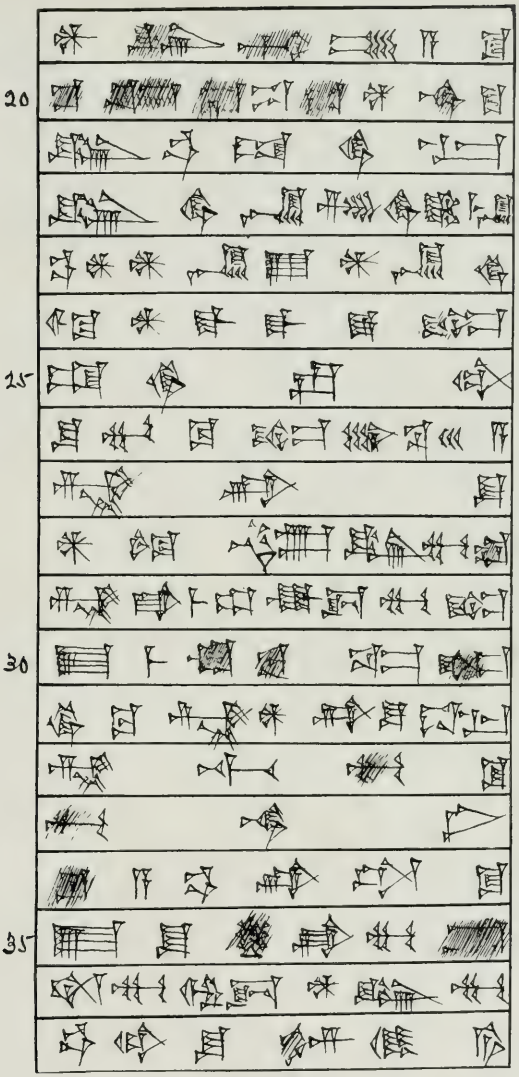
Inscription of Rim-Sin, A.O. 3003 Obverse



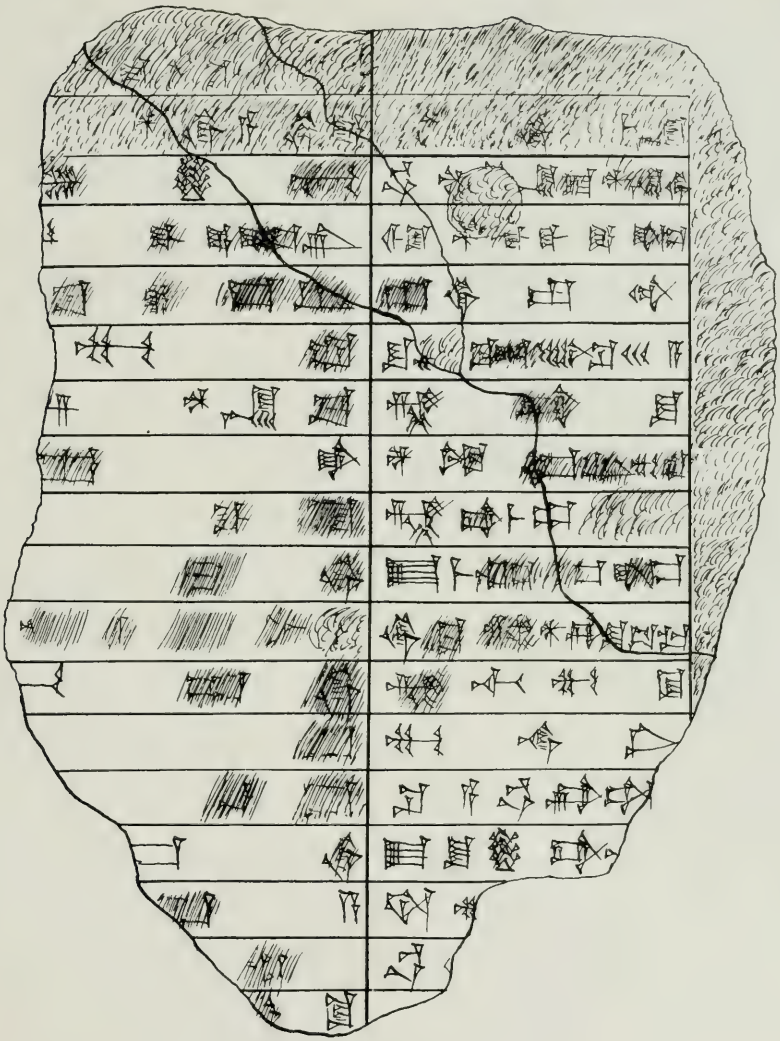
Inscription of Rim Sin, A.O. 3003 Reverse



The Cone of Rim-Sin



The Cone of Rim-Sin



The Pase of the Cone of Rim-Sin

fore, receive": mu-ŠI-DU-na-a, I R., 2, No. III, 8.

ŠU, ḳâtu, "hand": šu-mu-šú, Cone 26; I R., 3, No. X, II, 6; šu-na, AV, I, 17, I, 2; ŠU-KU-bi, Len., 70, I, 4.

ŠÚ, postposition, ana, "to, for": šu-mu-šú, Cone 26; I R., 3, No. X, II, 6; nam-ti-mu-šú, Cone 32; AO 3003, Obv. 17; I R., 3, No. X, II, 11; nam-ti-la-ne-ne-šú, Len., 70, II, 1; lugal-la-na-šú, IV R., 35, 6, I, 23; and very often.

ŠU-UL, kalâlu, šuklulu, "complete, be completed": šu-ul, Cone 4, 12: šu-ul-ul, AO 3003, Obv. 11; IV R., 35, 6, I, 13; I R., 3, No. X, I, 9.

ŠU-ZI, agû galtu (= "flood + fearful," Br. 7123); nadru (Br. 7124), "ferocious": BIR šu-zi-ga, OBI, pl. 58, No. 128, 4.

TA, postposition, ana, ina, ištu, itti, ultu, "to, in, from, out of, with": gal-gal-e-ne-ta, Len., 70, II, 12.

TAG, lapâtu, mahâṣu ša mimma, "overthrow, cut down something": tag ni-ši-bar, PSBA, XIII, 159, II, 10.

TE, palâḫu, "fear, revere": te nam-nun-na-mà, AO 3003, Rev. 9.

TE, uššu, "foundation": te mu-pad-da, Cone 36; AV, I, 17, II, 14.

TIG, napḫaru, "all, whole": siba tig, Cone 11; I R., 3, No. X, I, 8.

TIL, (1) gamâru, "complete, make ready": a-ba ba-til, AO 3003, Obv. 16; (2) ḳatû, "execute, carry out": dug-ga-ni til ḫe-me, Cone 3.

TI-LA, napištu, "life": always under the abstract form, NAM-TI-LA.

TI-LI, balâṭu, napištu, "live, life": ti-li-ni-šú, IV R., 35, 6, I, 24.

TU, adâšu, "renew, restore": šu-nu-tu-tu, I R., 5, No. XVI, II, 5.

TU, banû, "build": tu unu azag-ga, AO 3003, Obv. 13.

TUG, rašû, "accomplish, take possession of": mu-maḫ tug-tug-ne, I R., 5, No. XVI, I, 11.

TÚM, alâku, "go": I R., 3, No. X, I, 5.

TUŠ, (1) ašâbu, "dwell": ḫe-im-mi-tuš, AO 3003, Rev. 4; (2) nâḫû, "rest": ḫe-ne-tuš, AO 3003, Rev. 11.

PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

SOME PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

Ernest DeWitt Burton

Ever since the days of Augustine and Jerome, not to say earlier, the mutual resemblances of the first three gospels have been observed, and the problem thus created for the biblical scholar has been discussed. Since 1794, when Eichhorn proposed his theory accounting for the resemblances and divergences of the synoptic gospels by deriving them all from a common document existing in various recensions, the question has been vigorously discussed, and almost numberless theories have been proposed for its solution.

It may be doubted, however, whether amid the multitude of these theories sufficient thought has been given to the formulation of the principles in accordance with which any solution of the problem must of necessity proceed. In textual criticism this phase of the matter has received most earnest attention, and principles have been formulated in respect to which there is general, even if not universal, agreement among textual critics. There seems to be no good reason why a course should not be pursued, in the matter of the relation of our present synoptic gospels to one another, similar to that which has been so efficient in promoting the solution of the problem of the interrelation of the manuscripts of these gospels and of the other New Testament books.

Indeed, the work done in formulating the task of textual criticism may well furnish the starting-point for the effort to formulate corresponding principles applicable to the problem of the relation of the gospels to one another, if not also the framework for a provisional statement of such principles. For, in fact, the relation of our several synoptic gospels to one another, and to the documents or traditions which may have lain behind them, is closely analogous to the relation of the several manuscripts (or other witnesses to the text) of any New Testament book to one another, and to the manuscripts which in this case undoubtedly constituted the sources from which our existing manuscripts were produced. The analogy, of course, must not be pressed where it does not hold. The methods of scribes and editors, though similar, are not identical. The analogy must serve mainly to suggest principles whose validity shall afterward be tested by their applicability to the actual conditions of the class of problems to which the synoptic problem belongs. But so used it seems likely to lead to valuable results.

The principles so reached would, if valid, be applicable not solely to the synoptic problem; for this problem is simply a specific instance of the general problem with which the historian always has to deal when he finds among his sources documents which, though similar, are nevertheless not duplicates. Bernheim has discussed this

problem with special reference to the sources for mediæval history in his work, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 272–99, and the conclusions which he reaches, if sound, are applicable in general to the whole class of cases in which there exist documents which are similar without being identical, and so in particular to the synoptic problem.

If, then, we avail ourselves of the work already done in textual criticism and in the study of the use of sources in historical work in general, continually checking the suggestions derived from these sources by unquestioned facts, we ought to arrive at certain principles on the basis of which it would be possible to move with some degree of firmness and certainty to an assured solution of the synoptic problem. The aim of this paper is not to review the history of the efforts to solve the problem of the synoptic gospels, or to examine any of the solutions that have been proposed, but, first, to formulate principles applicable to such problems; secondly, to state the main facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another; and, thirdly, to indicate the conclusions to which the correlation of these principles and facts seems to lead.

I. PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

1. As between some sort of literary relationship and total independence from a literary point of view, the decision is to be based upon the extent and nature of the resemblance of documents to one another. Between the two extremes, represented on the one side by two manuscripts or printed papers word for word identical throughout, and on the other side by two manuscripts or printed works having nothing in common save that they are written in the same language, all grades and degrees of resemblance are possible. In the former case, relation between documents ceases to exist because there are not two documents, but two exemplars of the same document. In the latter extreme, relationship vanishes because of total diversity. Between these extremes there may exist, for example, the case of two documents which, resembling one another, but not to the extent of identity, owe their resemblance to the fact that two authors wholly independently give an account of the same general event. In this case the two narratives traced to their origin meet, not in any common literary ancestor, but only in the event narrated. Again, two documents may resemble one another by reason of the fact that behind both of them there lies a literary work by which both have been influenced. This literary work may be a speech to which both have listened, a writing which both have read and which they reproduce from memory, or a writing from which both transcribe with more or less freedom of reproduction. From the point of view of the principle we are now endeavoring to state, these differences do not come into account. The question is simply this: When we trace the lines of heredity of the two writings, similar but not identical, to that which accounts for their similarity, is this common source something which had already assumed literary form, or an event or group of facts which each writer was endeavoring in his own way to record? This fundamental question must, as has been stated, be solved by the extent and nature of

the resemblances. How great a degree of resemblance will compel the supposition of a common literary ancestor, how great a degree of divergence would exclude this supposition, can be determined only by experience and observation. It is important, if possible, that such observation should pertain to writings the nature of whose relationship is known, and which come from a period not too remote from that to which the writings belong whose relationship we are endeavoring to determine.

2. It being determined that the relation of the documents in question is literary in its character, the decision between documentary and oral relationship—that is, a relationship mediated by written documents and one mediated by oral report or tradition—must likewise rest upon the nature and extent of the resemblance, account being taken of order of paragraphs or other like divisions, content of narrative, and verbal agreement.

The extent and character of the resemblances which would be produced respectively by oral tradition and documentary relationship must be judged, as respects the synoptic gospels, not by modern custom, but by the usage of the times from which these books come. It must be recognized that among the ancient Jews greater resemblance might be produced by oral relationship than is usual in such cases today, and that greater variation would usually appear in the case of documentary relation than would usually occur now. It is obviously impossible to determine with accuracy to what extent a written reproduction of an oral tradition would differ from this tradition itself, since by the nature of the case the original is not in existence, and cannot therefore be compared with the transcription of it. Only in case we possessed two writings, both vouched for as independent attempts to reproduce what had previously existed only orally, could we by actual test determine how great a degree of resemblance and diversity would be produced by such independent reproduction of oral material.

On the other hand, the degree of diversity between the source of a document and the document itself, that source being in written form, can be more accurately determined, since instances exist in which both the source and the derivative document are still extant. In the case of the synoptic gospels we have several very valuable bases of judgment upon this point, concerning which something will be said in a later paragraph. See II, 8, p. 20.

3. It being determined that there is between two or more extant documents a literary relationship of a documentary character, the general principle for determining the direction of descent—that is, which of the documents is antecedent to the others—is, that that one is to be accepted as, relatively speaking, the original which will explain the origin of the others, but cannot itself be explained as the product of the others.

In dealing with our synoptic gospels it must, however, be borne in mind that the order of dependence is not necessarily the same throughout the whole extent of the books. In textual criticism we are wont to recognize four parts of the New Testament which are, as respects their textual history, to a considerable degree independent. These four are: the Gospels, the Acts and Catholic Epistles, the Pauline Epistles, and the

Apocalypse. In like manner it must be recognized as possible that in the history of the gospels which lies back of the textual history, strictly so called, the several portions of the synoptic material may have had a measurably independent history. There may, for example, have been separate narratives of the infancy, the ministry of John, the Galilean ministry of Jesus, the Perean ministry, the passion and resurrection history. If so, it is possible that our present gospels sustain different relations to one another in these different parts.

4. When the documents or portions of documents are two in number, and the previously indicated tests have led to the conclusion that they sustain a literary relation to one another, if the influence of sources no longer extant be excluded from consideration, there remains evidently but one possibility, viz., that one of the documents is derived from the other. This may be represented by the diagram:

I

a

b

Which of the two documents is primary, and which is dependent upon the other, must be decided on the basis of the evidence as to which contains features of a secondary character. The following may be regarded as evidences of such secondary character: (1) manifest misunderstanding of what stands in one document on the part of the writer of the other; (2) insertion by one writer of material not in the other, and clearly interrupting the course of thought or symmetry of plan in the other; (3) clear omission from one document of matter which was in the other, the omission of which destroys the connection; (4) insertion of matter the motive for which can be clearly seen in the light of the author's general aim, while no motive can be discovered for its omission by the other author if he had had it in his source; (5) *vice versa*, omission of matter traceable to the motive natural to the writer when the insertion could not thus be accounted for; (6) alterations of other kinds which conform the matter to the general method or tendency of the author.

In textual criticism it is regarded as a general, but not invariable, rule that the longer reading is the later. It cannot be assumed that this rule holds also in our present field until the usage of compilers in that period has been somewhat more carefully studied. Concerning the light which Tatian's Diatessaron throws upon the question, a word will be said below. The tendency of a particular writer, if it can be determined, would in any case be the safest criterion; but one must, of course, be on his guard against reasoning in a vicious circle in such a case.

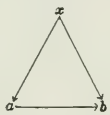
5. But the possibility that the similarity of two documents is, in fact, due to the influence of non-extant sources must also be taken into account. And this fact adds to the possible relationships, indicated above, still other possibilities which for con-

venience we number consecutively with those already named. Thus *a* and *b* may be independently derived from a common oral tradition, or a common lost document, as represented in the following diagram:

II

or *a* may be derived from a lost document or from oral tradition, and *b* may be derived from this non-extant source and *a*, it being remembered that *a* may represent either document, *b* denoting the other. This may be represented in a diagram thus:

III[1]



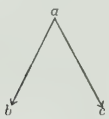
The distinguishing of these several cases from one another and from cases I and II must evidently be accomplished by the application of the tests for secondary character, as indicated above. Thus in case II the marks of secondary character may be expected to appear now in *a*, now in *b*, without clear evidence of originality in either throughout. Whether the documents in hand be related through common oral tradition or a written document would be determined by the nature of the resemblance—whether it approximated that which we actually find in documents known to be derived from extant sources, with which therefore they can be compared, or whether there is a freedom of reproduction which seems to exclude written sources. In case III the document which drew from its companion, as well as from the source lying back of both, would be expected to show stronger marks of secondary character than the others. But since the derivative document might in some cases displace the secondary readings of its companion and restore those of the common source, and since in case II one document might depart more freely from the original than the other, mere preponderance of marks of secondary character would not enable us either to identify the documents under case III, or to distinguish case III from case II. Only when either *a* or *b* should show clear indications of having combined two readings, one of which was found in the other extant document, and the other of which was clearly related to it as its source, would it be possible with any confidence to determine which of the several relations covered by cases II and III was the true one.

[1] Case III can evidently be resolved into four cases, according as the non-extant source is oral or written, and according as *a* or *b* is the middle term between the non-extant source and the other existing document. Still other cases might also arise through the use of more than one non-extant source. It would, however, contribute not to clearness, but to confusion, to enumerate under separate notation all possible variations of relation. It must suffice to represent classes of cases.

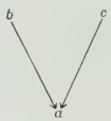
The problem presented by this group of cases is then to be solved, as far as it is soluble, by the tests for direction of descent, with some possible help from evidence of conflation.

6. When the related documents are three in number, various relations are possible. If for the present those be excluded that involve the hypothesis of a non-extant source, oral or documentary, the possibilities may be most simply indicated by diagrams as follows:

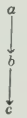
IV



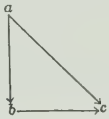
V



VI



VII



That is, *b* and *c* may be derived from *a; a* may be derived from *b* and *c; b* may be derived from *a*, and *c* from *b; b* may be derived from *a*, and *c* from *a* and *b*. But it must also be noted, as in the previous examples, that diagrams IV, V, VI, and VII each represent several possibilities. Thus, to apply the diagrams to the problem of the gospels, diagram IV may represent the derivation of Mark and Luke from Matt., or of Matt. and Luke from Mark, or of Matt. and Mark from Luke. The case is similar also in respect to each of the other diagrams; so that, in fact, they represent eighteen possibilities.

It is obvious that all the tests indicated in 4 above can be applied also in the present group of cases for the purpose of identifying the documents. Thus, if one of the documents constantly shows marks of originality as compared with each of the other two, and these two bear the signs of secondary character as compared with it, these facts would be consistent with the solution suggested in diagram IV, the document first mentioned occupying the position *a;* and, if not modified by other facts, would point to this as the solution of the problem. If, however, to such a constant originality of *a* there be added also an originality of *b*, as compared with *c*, this would suggest a diagram of the form VI, with the order, *a*—*b*—*c*. It is unnecessary to follow out this phase of the problem in detail. An attentive inspection of the diagrams will suggest the various ways of applying to the problems of three documents the tests which are applicable also to two documents.

It is of more significance to observe that the possession of three related documents enables us to apply a more objective test than is possible when the documents are but two in number.

Thus if two of the documents, say *b* and *c*, are so entirely distinct from one another as to suggest no interdependence, while the third, *a*, is a combination of elements drawn from *b* and *c*, such evidence will clearly point to hypothesis V as against any of the other hypotheses enumerated. For under any other there would certainly

be material common to *b* and *c* as well as to *a* and *b* and to *a* and *c*. Of the eighteen possibilities seventeen are thus excluded by a definite objective test.

If, on the other hand, *a* and *b* sometimes agree against *c*, *a* and *c* sometimes agree against *b*, and *b* and *c* sometimes agree against *a*, and if all these three forms of binary agreement occur with approximately equal frequency, this fact will make strongly for some form of hypothesis VII as against any of the others named above, since it alone furnishes the conditions under which any two of the three documents may agree against the third. In such case the eighteen possibilities are by a definite objective test reduced to four. An occurrence of all three forms of binary agreement might indeed arise under a modified form of hypothesis V, viz., if *b* and *c*, from which *a* is derived, themselves have a common source *x*. But in this case we either have four documents, or are no longer dealing with cases which exclude the influence of a non-extant source and have passed into a new group, to be considered below.

For the further recognition of cases falling under hypothesis VII (or V in its modified form), and for the identification of the documents, *i. e.*, for determining which is the derivative document, there is again an objective test, long ago pointed out as valuable in textual criticism. Thus, if one document is based on two others, it may reasonably be expected that the compiler will sometimes combine the statements of his two authorities, producing what is known as conflation. This, of course, will not occur when the two are separately derived from one, though the appearance of it might arise if the two derivative documents should by chance divide between them a phrase or sentence of the source. A classic example of real or apparent conflation in the gospels is Mark 1:32, *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος*; Matt. reading at the corresponding point, 8:16, *ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης*, and Luke, 4:40, *δύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου*. Now, if one of the three documents under consideration should exhibit numerous and clear cases of conflation, this would be practical demonstration of its derivation from the other two, *i. e.*, that it is *c* in diagram VII (or *a* in V). To the test of conflation may, of course, also be added those for direction of descent as set forth under 5.

If, once more, two of the three documents, let us say *a* and *b*, often agree against *c*, and *a* and *c* often agree against *b*, but *b* and *c*, while having much matter in common with one another and with *a*, never agree against *a*, it is certain that *a* is in some sense the middle term between *b* and *c*, and we are pointed to hypothesis IV or VI: to IV in the form indicated in the diagram, or to VI in the form *b*—*a*—*c* or *c*—*a*—*b*. Hypothesis V is excluded by the existence of material common to *b* and *c*. Hypothesis VII is excluded by the fact that the connection of *b* with *c* makes all three forms of binary combination possible and probable.[2] Thus again by an objective test, based not upon

[2] This general statement requires modification only by the recognition of the fact that a writer in the position indicated by *c* in diagram VII might conceivably depart from either or both of his sources, when they were not in agreement, but avoid departing from them in that to which they bore concurrent testimony, and thus might create a situation under VII very similar to that which we have interpreted as pointing to IV or VI. The recognition of this possibility would increase the uneliminated possibilities from three to five, and require the application of other tests, as, *e. g.*, of conflation, for determining whether the case really fell under VII on the one hand, or IV or VI on the other.

delicate consideration of the kind of changes that a first century author would probable be disposed to make, but upon the obvious fact that of the three possible kinds of binary combination two are frequent, while instances of the third are lacking, it is possible to exclude fifteen of the eighteen possibilities, and reduce the problem to discovering which of the remaining three we actually have in hand. If, instead of an entire absence of the third form of binary agreement, there are of this form only such instances as may be reasonably ascribed to the coincident action of a common motive affecting two of the authors, say *b* and *c*, and leading them to make the same change in their source *a*, such a situation would point strongly to hypothesis IV, and at the same time indicate which of the three documents was the source of the other two.

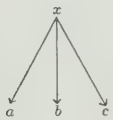
The problem of distinguishing between case IV on the one side, and any possible form of VI on the other, is less simple. It can be solved, generally speaking, by adding to the tests applicable to three documents those for direction of descent applicable to two documents. Thus, if by the former test *a* has been shown to be the middle term between the other two, a probable verdict on the question whether we have case IV or a form of VI may be reached by observing which of the documents shows marks of secondary character as compared with the others. Thus, if these marks of secondary character appear in both *b* and *c*, as compared with *a*, this would point to IV. If they appear in *a* as compared with *b*, and in *c* as compared with *a*, this would point to VI in the form *b*—*a*—*c*. If they appear in *a* as compared with *c*, and in *b* as compared with *a*, this would suggest VI in the form *c*—*a*—*b*.

To discuss in further detail all the problems suggested by the hypotheses named is unnecessary. The methods employed will be similar to those already suggested.

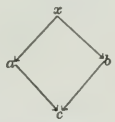
The problem of three related documents, non-extant sources excluded, is then to be solved by the application of the principle that two documents derived from a third will each agree with that source, but not with one another against the source, supplemented by the tests for direction of descent, and the possible evidence of conflation.

7. Thus far in discussing the problem of three documents we have ignored the possibility that sources no longer extant have entered in as factors of the process from which the three existing documents resulted. But this possibility must, of course, be

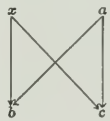
VIII



IX



X



taken into account. To represent or enumerate all the many ways in which a non-extant document or documents might have contributed to the existing result is neither expedient nor necessary. It will suffice to consider a few of the many possible cases. In case VIII the three extant documents are produced directly from a non-extant

source. In case IX, a is derived from the non-extant document x, b from x and a, and c from a and b. In case X, b and c are each derived from a non-extant document and the extant document a. In case VIII all three classes of binary combinations would appear as in case VII, and this case (VIII) can be distinguished from VII by the fact that the marks of secondary character appear in all three documents with approximately equal frequency. In case X there would be material common to a, b, and c, but also material common to b and c not found in a. In the former a and b would sometimes agree against c, and a and c against b, but agreements of b and c against a would not occur, or would be rare and easily explicable. Marks of secondary character would appear in b and c, but not in a. In case IX there would be material common to a and b, but probably also material peculiar to each, and the marks of secondary character in material common to them would sometimes appear in a, sometimes in b. All three forms of binary combination would be possible, but, perhaps as in case VII, agreements of a and b against c would be less frequent than either of the other forms, since the former could arise only through c departing from both its sources when these were in agreement; c would be likely to bear the marks of secondary character now in reference to a, now in reference to b, and very likely show conflation of a and b. Total absence of such conflation, or the total disregard of material found in a or b and germane to the purpose of c, especially of material common to a and b (hence in both the sources of c) and likewise germane to the purpose of c, would make against this hypothesis, and suggest some form of X, or some other theory not included in our brief illustrative list.

The methods applicable to this group of cases are therefore in general those indicated under the preceding section. But the possible relations are indefinite in number, and the particular method to be employed will vary with every practical case.

8. Account must also be taken of the fact that the significance of agreement or disagreement may be quite different according as it pertains to matter *en bloc* or to details of threefold narrative. Thus, if in threefold narrative documents a and b often agree against c, and a and c often agree against b, while b and c never agree against a, there is a strong probability that b and c are derived from a. But if in the same documents b and c agree—it may be exactly—in whole paragraphs not found in a, this does not overthrow the conclusion previously reached, but rather points to the possession by b and c of a source additional to a. In other words, if to agreements of a and b against c, and of a and c against b, there be added agreements of b and c against a *in details* of threefold narrative, this points to hypothesis VII or VIII. But if this latter agreement, b and c against a, be not in details, but only through the addition of matter *en bloc*, X is the hypothesis indicated.

9. It must also be evident that an agreement in omission is of quite different significance from an agreement in addition. Thus in threefold material the common possession by two documents of any considerable amount of material not found in the third either shows that that third was not, at least in its extant form, the source of the

other two (excludes IV), or necessitates the supposition of an additional common source (X). But the same amount of agreement in omission, or even a much larger amount, might, if the evidence were otherwise clearly in favor of regarding the third document as the source of the other two (as in IV), be explicable as due to coincidence or the influence of the same motive upon two minds. The same principle would hold respecting larger portions of material, except that the agreement of two documents against the third in the common possession of paragraphs or sections capable of independent transmission more obviously than in the other case suggests an additional source. In brief, two writers might both have the same reason or different reasons for omitting matter found in a third; but the addition of matter verbally the same and of any considerable extent, whether of phrases in a threefold text, or of entire paragraphs or sections, would require some other explanation.

To these principles, based on the relations of documents, may be added another, respecting the value of ancient testimony, too obvious to require defense, but worthy to be borne in mind.

10. Tradition cannot control the clear evidence of the documents themselves. But a theory which accords with ancient tradition, especially uncontradicted tradition, is more probable, other things being equal, than one which contradicts tradition. Of very special significance is the testimony of an author himself respecting the sources used by him or at his command. Such testimony can be set aside only when contradicted by clear internal evidence. The most probable theory is that which conforms alike to the internal evidence of the documents, to the testimony of the author, if such testimony exists, and to ancient tradition.

II. FACTS RESPECTING THE RELATION OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS TO ONE ANOTHER, AND THE BEARING OF THESE FACTS ON POSSIBLE THEORIES

To exhibit in detail all the facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another would require the printing of the Greek text of these gospels in parallel columns, together with some device for indicating to the eye the extent and nature of their parallelism. Several attempts have been made to do this,[3] none of them wholly successful. It is not the purpose of this essay thus to show the details, but to state those general facts which a careful and detailed comparison of the gospels discloses, and which, in the author's judgment, point the way to a solution of the problem of their mutual relation.

1. It needs barely be mentioned that the synoptic gospels differ one from another to such an extent as to make them clearly not exemplars of the same work, but different, and to a certain extent independent, works.

2. There is in these synoptic gospels, on the other hand, a large amount of similar material—a large number of sections which appear in two or in all three of the gospels in closely similar form. In any numerical statement of the facts at this point there

[3] See RUSHBROOKE, *Synopticon;* WRIGHT, *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek;* HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien;* HEINEKE, *Synopse der drei ersten kanonischen Evangelien;* VEIT, *Die synoptischen Parallelen*, Vol. I.

must be a certain element of arbitrariness, since the length of a section is to a certain extent a matter of personal judgment. General facts, however, will appear in the following statements: In the table appended to this essay there are 120 sections. In 49 sections there are three accounts so closely resembling one another as to indicate some kind of literary relationship. In 1 section (64) there are three accounts, but the Luke account is quite independent of the other two. In 15 sections closely parallel accounts are found in Matt. and Mark; in the case of four of these Luke has an independent but more or less similar account, usually differently located. In 5 sections parallel accounts are found in Mark and Luke (this number including three in which the Mark passage is in 16:9–20). In 5 sections parallel accounts are found in Matt. and Luke, if in this list we may include the genealogies. In 6 Matt. is the only source; in 1 Mark is the only source; in 37 Luke is the only source, including the four independent accounts mentioned above. In 1 Luke (13:18–21) contains material found also in Matt. in a threefold section.

3. In a large proportion of these cases the resemblance between the parallel accounts is very close, extending to ideas, words, order of words, and even to the insertion of parenthetical clauses. One or two examples will suffice to show the character of this resemblance.

Matt. 3:7–10	Luke 3:7–9
Ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς	Ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·
Γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν	Γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν
φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;	φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;
ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας·	ποιήσατε οὖν καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας·
καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς	καὶ μὴ ἄρξησθε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς
Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι	Πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι
δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων	δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων
ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ. ἤδη δὲ	ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ. ἤδη δὲ
ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·	καὶ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·
πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν	πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν [καλὸν]
ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.	ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

Matt. 9:14–17	Mark 2:18–22	Luke 5:33–39
	Καὶ ἦσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύοντες.	
τότε προσέρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου λέγοντες	καὶ ἔρχονται καὶ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ	οἱ δὲ εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
Διὰ τί ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι νηστεύομεν,	Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ τῶν Φαρισαίων νηστεύουσιν,	Οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάνου νηστεύουσιν πυκνὰ καὶ δεήσεις ποιοῦνται, ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων
οἱ δὲ μαθηταί σου οὐ νηστεύουσιν;	οἱ δὲ σοὶ [μαθηταὶ] οὐ νηστεύουσιν;	οἱ δὲ σοὶ ἐσθίουσιν καὶ πίνουσιν·

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος πενθεῖν ἐφ' ὅσον μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὁ νυμφίος;	Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν νηστεύειν; ὅσον χρόνον ἔχουσιν τὸν νυμφίον μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐ δύνανται νηστεύειν·	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς Μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ νυμφῶνος ἐν ᾧ ὁ νυμφίος μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ποιῆσαι νηστεῦσαι;
ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν.	ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.	ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι, καὶ ὅταν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις. Ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι
οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐπιβάλλει ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ.	οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπιράπτει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν·	Οὐδεὶς ἐπίβλημα ἀπὸ ἱματίου καινοῦ σχίσας ἐπιβάλλει ἐπὶ ἱμάτιον παλαιόν·
	εἰ δὲ μή,	εἰ δὲ μήγε,
αἴρει γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματίου, καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται.	αἴρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ, καὶ χεῖρον σχίσμα γίνεται.	καὶ τὸ καινὸν σχίσει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμφωνήσει τὸ ἐπίβλημα τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καινοῦ.
οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς·	καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς·	καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς·
εἰ δὲ μήγε, ῥηγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί,	εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκούς,	εἰ δὲ μήγε, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος τοὺς ἀσκούς,
καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπόλλυνται·	καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί.	καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται
ἀλλὰ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς,	[ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς]	ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον.
καὶ ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται		[Οὐδεὶς πιὼν παλαιὸν θέλει νέον· λέγει γὰρ Ὁ παλαιὸς χρηστός ἐστιν.]

The first of these examples shows this resemblance at its greatest. Of the sixty-three consecutive words in Matt. beginning with *γεννήματα* and ending with *βάλλεται*, sixty are found in Luke in the same order; for *καρπὸν ἄξιον* Luke has *καρποὺς ἀξίους*, for *δόξητε* he has *ἄρξησθε*, and after *ἤδη δέ* he adds *καί*; for *καλόν* in Luke the evidence is not quite conclusive. In the second example the resemblance, especially between Matt. and the other accounts, is less close, yet still very striking. The student of the subject does not need to be told that instances of similarly close parallelism are very numerous. They may be studied in any Greek harmony of the gospels, especially Rushbrooke, Huck, or Wright. The resemblance is at many points closer than is ordinarily found between the quotations of the New Testament writers and their Old Testament source, and closely resembles that which exists between Tatian and his sources, the latter, of course, well known to be written and in our possession (see under 8).

4. In order to observe more closely the facts respecting the relation of the synoptic gospels, the contents of these gospels may be classified into seven classes (somewhat after the manner of the canons of Eusebius), according as they are (a) threefold, being found in all three gospels; (b) twofold, being common to Matt. and Mark; (c) twofold, being common to Mark and Luke; (d) twofold, being common to Matt. and Luke; (e) peculiar to Matt., *i. e.*, omitted by Mark and Luke; (f) peculiar to Mark, *i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Luke; (g) peculiar to Luke, *i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Mark. This classification may be applied first to the material *en bloc*—*i. e.*, to sections, paragraphs, or portions of paragraphs—such that they might not improbably be transmitted independently;[4] and secondly to the several portions, even to single words or terminations, of what in the previous classification is reckoned as threefold narrative.[5]

The general facts regarding the agreement of the synoptic gospels in respect to whole sections, or paragraphs, or considerable portions of paragraphs are as follows:[6]

a. The threefold material consists of the following passages of Mark with the parallel passages in the other gospels: 1:2–4, 7–15, 29–34, 39–45; 2:1—3:12; 3:16–19; 3:22–4:25; 4:30–32; 4:35—5:43; 6:6b–16, 30–44; 8:27—9:8; 9:14–37, 42; 10:13–34, 46–52; 11:1–11, 15–19, 27–33; 12:1–39; 13:1–20, 24–32; 14:1, 2, 10–25, 29–50, 53–72; 15:1–15, 21–47; 16:1–8.

b. Mark and Matt. agree in including the following passages not in Luke: Mark 1:5, 6, 16–20; 4:33, 34; 6:1–6a, 17–29; 6:45—7:31; 8:1–21; 9:9–13, 43–48; 10:1–12, 35–45; 11:12–14, 20–25; 13:21–23; 14:3–9, 26–28; 15:16–20 = Matt. 3:4–6; 4:18–22, 24, 25; 5:29, 30; 9:35, 36; 13:34, 54–58; 14:3–12, 22–27; 14:32—15:11; 15:15—16:11; 17:9–13; 18:8, 9; 19:1–9; 20:20–28; 21:18–22; 24:23–25; 26:6–13, 30–32; 27:27–31.

c. Mark and Luke agree in including the following not in Matt.: Mark 1:21–28, 35–38; 3:13–15; 9:38–41; 12:40–44 = Luke 4:31–37, 42, 43; 6:12, 13; 9:49, 50; 20:47—21:4.

d. Matt. and Luke agree in including the following matter not in Mark: Matt. 3:7–10, 12; 4:3–11; 5:1–3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 25, 26, 32, 39–42, 44–48; 6:8–13, 19–33; 7:1–5, 7–12, 16–27;[7] 8:5–13, 18–22; 9:37, 38; 10:15, 16, 24–40; 11:2–19, 21–27; 12: 27, 28, 30, 33–35, 38–45; 13:16, 17, 33; 18:12–15, 21, 22; 23:4, 12, 13, 23–39; 24:26–28, 37–51; 25:24–29 = Luke 3:7–9, 17; 4:3–13; 6:20–23, 27–49; 7:1–10,

[4] The length of the portion which might be transmitted independently would depend somewhat upon its character. Even a comparatively brief saying might be handed down without connection; but a detail of a narrative if transmitted must have come down as a part of a story.

[5] On the differing significance of agreements on the one hand in details of threefold narrative, and on the other in matter *en bloc*, see I, 8, p. 11.

[6] There is necessarily some room for difference of opinion as to precisely how much should be reckoned as threefold material, and precisely of what nature and extent a twofold agreement must be to exclude it from the list. The above list of passages could doubtless be criticised both as including too much and as excluding too much. It is believed to be at least approximately correct.

[7] Concerning the parallel matter in Matt., chaps. 5–7, and Luke 6:20–49, see more fully under 10 below. Some verses of Matt. are included in the above list which are only partially paralleled in Luke.

18–28, 31–35; 9:57–60; 10:2–15, 21–24; 11:2–4, 9–13, 19, 20, 23–26, 29–32, 34, 35, 39–42, 44–52; 12:1–9, 22–34, 39–46, 51–53, 58, 59; 13:20, 21, 28, 29, 34, 35; 14:25–27, 34, 35; 15:4–7; 16:13, 16; 17:3, 4, 23–27, 34–37; 19:20–27. This material which Matt. and Luke possess in common, but do not share with Mark, is partly narrative in character, partly discourse material. The resemblance of form, words, sentences, order of sentences, is for the most part very close. An example of it may be seen in Matt. 3:7–10 and Luke 3:7–9 printed on page 13. In location, on the other hand, there is very little agreement, the only instances in which corresponding material can be strictly said to be correspondingly placed being the section just referred to, the account of the preaching of John the Baptist, where Matt. 3:7–10, 12, and Luke 3:7–9, 17 contain the same material and are similarly placed, and the temptation story, in which Matt. and Luke closely agree in their additions to Mark except in the order of the second and third temptations.

e. The matter peculiar to Matt., which therefore Mark and Luke agree in omitting (*i. e.*, in not containing), is the following: Matt., chaps. 1; 2; 4:13–16; 5:4, 7–10, 13–24 (but with partial parallels in Luke), 27, 28, 33–37; 6:1–7, 14–18 (with partial parallels of 14, 15 in Mark and Luke), 34; 7:6, 13–15 (with partial parallels in Luke); 8:17; 10:5, 6, 23, 41; 11:28–30; 12:17–21, 36, 37; 13:24–30, 35–53; 14:28–31; 15:12–14; 16:12, 17–19; 17:24–27; 18:10, 16–20, 23–35; 19:10–12; 20:1–16; 21:4, 5, 14–16, 28–32; 22:1–14; 23:2, 3, 5, 8–10, 15–22; 24:10–12; 25:1–23, 30–46, 52–54; 27:3–10, 19, 24, 25, 51b–53, 62–66; 28:2–4, 9–20.

f. The matter peculiar to Mark, which therefore Matt. and Luke agree in omitting (*i. e.*, in not containing), is the following: Mark 3:20, 21; 4:26–29; 7:32–37; 8:22–26; 9:49, 50; 13:33–37; 14:51, 52.

g. The matter peculiar to Luke, which therefore Matt. and Mark agree in omitting (*i. e.*. in not containing), is the following: chaps. 1; 2; 3:5, 6, 10–15, 18–20; 4:16–30; 5:1–11; 6:24–26; 7:11–17, 29, 30, 36–50; 8:1–3; 9:51–56, 61, 62; 10:1, 16–20, 25–42; 11:1, 5–8, 27, 28, 36–38, 53, 54; 12:13–21, 35–38, 47–50, [54–57]; 13:1–17, 22–27 (with partial parallels in Matt.) 31–33; 14:1–24, 28–33; 15:1–3, 8–32; 16:1–12, 14, 15, 19–31; 17:5–22, 28–32; 18:1–14; 19:1–19, 39–44; 21:34–38; 22:15–17; 24–32 (but with partial parallels in Matt.), 35–38; 23:4–16, 27–32, 40–43; 24:7–53.

5. When there are three parallel accounts—*i. e.*, in the matter referred to in 4a—Matt. and Luke resemble each other much less closely than either Matt. and Mark, or Mark and Luke. In a very large preponderance of the agreements of Matt. and Luke they resemble one another only in so far as both agree with Mark. Beyond this their agreements consist only in the occasional omission of matter found in Mark, and the occasional agreement in a single word or brief phrase not found in Mark. The facts, reduced to numerical statement, are as follows:

a. Matt. and Mark agree against Luke by addition or substitution in approximately 1,600 words.

b. Mark and Luke agree against Matt. in approximately 860 words.

c. Matt. and Luke agree against Mark in approximately 275[8] words.

A more careful scrutiny of this third and smaller group of agreements discloses several facts which tend still further to emphasize the disparity of these numbers. The 275 words of agreement are distributed in about 175 instances, from which it appears that they average less than two words each. Of these 175 instances, 15 consist in the substitution of εἶπον for λέγω, about 20 of δέ for καί, 2 of καί for δέ. A comparison of Mark with each of the other gospels shows that in many instances the substitution of εἶπον for λέγω and of καί for δέ appears also as between Mark and each of the others singly. This fact indicates that in these 35 instances we have simply the coincident effect of causes which affected both Matt. and Luke alike. In about 20 of the 175 instances in which Matt. and Luke agree (wholly or in part) against Mark, the three agree in that they use words of the same root, Matt. and Luke employing a form differing from Mark's in prefix or termination. Many instances of change in which Matt. and Luke agree are explicable as due to a common impulse of Matt. and Luke to improve Mark's Greek, as, *e. g.*, by the substitution of an aorist for an historical present (Mark 4:38; 5:15; 11:1; 11:7—*cf.* 15:20—and parallels), or the participle for a finite verb with καί (Mark 1:41; 4:38; 5:38; 6:7; 11:2; and parallels), or to conform the statement more exactly to the facts as understood by them (*cf.* Mark 6:14; 8:31; 10:34 with the parallels). There remain, however, a considerable number of additions and substitutions which are of a different character. But of these instances scarcely more than one in ten causes a difference in meaning between the several accounts, and these affect only the merest details. The common additions of Matt. and Luke to Mark which affect the sense of the passage further than by the change of tense or an unimportant exchange of prepositions are as follows: Mark 1:5 = Matt. 3:5 = Luke 3:3, 5 words; Mark 1:8 = Matt. 3:11 = Luke 3:16, 2 words; Mark 2:12 = Matt. 9:7 = Luke 5:25, 4 words; Mark 3:1 = Matt. 12:9 = Luke 6:6, 1 word; Mark 3:18 = Matt. 9:2 = Luke 6:14, 3 words; Mark 4:10 = Matt. 13:10 = Luke 8:9, 1 word; Mark 4:41 = Matt. 8:27 = Luke 8:25, 2 words; Mark 5:27 = Matt. 9:20 = Luke 8:44, 2 words; Mark 6:7 = Matt. 10:1 = Luke 9:1, 1 word; Mark 6:34 = Matt. 14:14 = Luke 9:11, 2 words (?); Mark 9:2 = Matt. 17:2 = Luke 9:29, 2 words (?); Mark 13:19 = Matt. 24:21 = Luke 21:23, 1 word; Mark 14:62 = Matt. 26:64 = Luke 22:69, 2 words; Mark 14:65 = Matt. 26:68 = Luke 22:64, 5 words; Mark 14:72 = Matt. 26:75 = Luke 26:62, 4 words; in all, 15 instances, 37 words.

d. Peculiar to Luke in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Mark—are approximately 1,100 words, for which there is no equivalent or substitute in the other gospels.

e. Peculiar to Matt. in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Mark and Luke—are approximately 830 words.

[8] These figures are based upon the Tischendorf text as printed in HUCK'S *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*. The results of a count from another text, such as that of WESTCOTT AND HORT, would probably differ slightly, but could hardly do so materially.

f. Peculiar to Mark in threefold matter—*i. e.*, omitted by Matt. and Luke—are approximately 1,000 words. Respecting the matter of omissions in threefold matter there is, however, much room for difference of opinion, and the figures given under d, e, f must be regarded as approximate only.

6. Respecting agreements and disagreements in order the facts are these:

Matt. and Mark agree against Luke in the placing of two sections in which the narrative is evidently threefold: The true kindred of Christ, recorded in Mark 3:31–35 and Matt. 12:46–50 immediately preceding the parables by the sea (Mark 4:1–34; Matt. 13:1–53), in Luke follows these parables; the imprisonment of John the Baptist, recorded in Mark 6:17, 18 and Matt. 14:3, 4 in connection with the results of the missionary journey of the Twelve, is given by Luke at the close of his account of the preaching of John, Luke 3:19, 20. In the arrangement of paragraphs within a section Matt. and Mark agree against Luke in the account of the last supper and in the narrative of the trial. Besides these instances there are three in which Luke, though recording an event similar to that of Mark and Matt., evidently gives a wholly independent account unrelated in a literary way; and one in which Luke's account is, in the main at least, independent of Mark, and Matt. is partly parallel to Mark, partly to Luke. These passages—Luke 4:16–30; 5:1–11; 7:36–50 and 11:14–32—do not concern us at this point.

Mark and Luke agree against Matt. in the location of thirteen sections, which lie between Matt. 4:23 and 13:58. Within these limits there are certain groups of two or three sections the sections of which succeed one another in the same order as in Mark and Luke, but the groups themselves are differently located. In respect to the narratives which precede and follow these limits, Matt. agrees with Mark in the order of sections except in the transposition of the conversation between Jesus and his disciples concerning the withered fig tree to a place in immediate connection with the cursing of the tree. But as Luke omits both of these sections, the transposition does not result in a disagreement of Matt. with both Mark and Luke.

Matt. and Luke never agree against Mark in order of sections or paragraphs.

7. Of the ancient testimonies bearing upon the origin of the synoptic gospels, it must suffice to present a few which are of special significance and importance.

First among these is the preface of Luke's gospel:

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου, ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

This passage bears for us the important testimony of the author of this gospel that when he wrote there were already in existence several narratives of the life of Jesus, more or less complete, and that these narratives were based, in the intention of their writers at least, on the oral narratives of the life of Jesus which proceeded from the personal companions of Jesus, men who had witnessed the events from the

beginning, and from the beginning had been ministers of the word. The author thus implies that his writing was subsequent both to the formation of an oral tradition and to the putting forth of not a few written gospels based upon this oral testimony of the eyewitnesses. He does not definitely state of which of these sources he had made use in his work, but he expressly affirms the existence of both the oral tradition and the written gospels, and implies that both were accessible to him. It is instructive to observe that while the author includes in his own gospel a story of the infancy, he yet implies that the oral gospel and the writings that preceded his were coincident in scope with the public life of Jesus; in other words, were of the same general extent as the gospel of Mark. They who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word are one class not two. "From the beginning" must therefore mean from the beginning, not of the life of Jesus, but of his ministry, since only from the latter time were there ministers of the word. Their testimony, therefore, and the gospels based thereon, covered only the public life of Jesus.

Second among the important ancient testimonies is that of Papias, transmitted by Eusebius in the following passage (*H. E.*, iii, 39:)

Καὶ [Παπίας] ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις· ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣ περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθειται διὰ τούτων·

Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἥμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἑνὸς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται τῷ Παπίᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταυτ' εἴρηται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατός, ἕκαστος.

The assertions of this passage which are of particular significance for our present purpose are two. First, Papias affirms, on the authority of the Elder, that Mark wrote a book containing an account of the things that were said and done by the Lord, upon the basis of the testimony of Peter, the latter of course being, as Mark was not, an eyewitness of the events of Jesus' life. There can be but little doubt that Eusebius, in identifying the gospel thus written with the gospel of Mark current under that name in his day, and, we may add, in our own day, was doing what Papias did before him. We cannot, indeed, assume without proof that the second and fourth centuries were right in this identification. But it is evident at the least that the statement of Papias that Mark wrote a gospel based directly on eyewitness testimony reflects the belief of the second century.

But secondly, Papias also testifies that Matthew wrote a book in the Hebrew

(meaning either Hebrew or Aramaic) language, consisting of the "sayings" (λόγια). There can be no reasonable doubt that τὰ λόγια means in this connection the utterances of Jesus. That it was written in the Hebrew language was apparently known to Papias through tradition, not from his own possession of it in that language; for the time when it was necessary for each (Greek) reader to translate it for himself is spoken of as past. Papias therefore intimates a distinction between the gospel that Matthew wrote and the one that was commonly current in his day and circle, though not suggesting that the two differed otherwise than in language. It would be instructive, but would unduly prolong this portion of the paper, to examine the testimony of later writers to the existence even at a later time of Hebrew gospels with which was associated the name of Matthew, and from such testimony to deduce a conclusion as to how much an ancient writer meant when he seemingly identified two works.

8. Of kindred significance with the ancient testimonies concerning the rise of the gospels is the evidence respecting the literary methods of the period in which the gospels arose. Here again it is impossible to marshal all the evidence. It must suffice to refer briefly to three items of special significance.

The first of these is contained in the New Testament itself and in no small part in the gospels, being furnished by the quotations which New Testament writers made from the Old Testament. These quotations are certainly in a large number of cases made from the Septuagint version; and, despite all uncertainties respecting the text of that version and of the New Testament, it is possible by comparison of the two to determine with approximate certainty how accurately a New Testament writer felt constrained to quote the text of sacred scripture, which existed in written form and was presumably accessible to him if he saw fit to refer to it. Such comparison will show that, while the Septuagint text is often reproduced with almost literal exactness (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 13:14, 15, quoted from Isa. 6:9, 10; Acts, 2:17–21, quoted from Joel 2:28–32; Rom. 4:7, 8, quoted from Ps. 32:1, 2), yet, on the other hand, the New Testament writer often allowed himself no little liberty of quotation. Sometimes, indeed, the variation from the Septuagint is due to the author's independent use of the Hebrew, but in other cases he departs alike from the Hebrew and the Septuagint (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 2:6, quoted from Mic. 5:2; Rom. 3:14, from Ps. 10:7; Rom. 3:15–17, from Isa. 59:7, 8; Matt. 2:23, from Isa. 11:1 [?]); sometimes when employing nearly the same words, he transposes the phrases (as in Matt. 21:33 and Mark 12:1, quoted from Isa. 5:1, 2, in which the agreement of order between Matt. and Mark against the Septuagint is suggestive, but not exceptional), or combines quotations from different passages (as in Rom. 3:10–18, and more notably in 1 Pet. 2:7, 8; Rom. 9:33).

A second instructive illustration is furnished by the appendix to the gospel of Mark. It is the almost unanimous verdict of textual critics that Mark 16:9–20 is an addition by a later hand than that which composed the body of the gospel.[9] Whether

[9] See CONYBEARE, in *Expositor*, Vol. IV, No. 8, p. 241; Vol. IV, No. 10, p. 219; Vol. V, No. 2, p. 401; ROHRBACH, *Der Schluss des Markusevangeliums;* ZAHN, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, 2d ed., Vol. II, pp. 227-35.

it is from the hand of Aristion is not significant for our present purpose, since it is at any rate later than the rest of the gospel. It is scarcely less evident that it makes use of the concluding portions of the other gospels, being in part produced from them by very free condensation, in part enlarged by additions from other sources. The situation is of course exceptional; but the verses furnish us none the less an example of the freedom with which a writer, whose work eventually found a place in our gospels, employed sources that beyond all reasonable doubt were in his hands in written form.

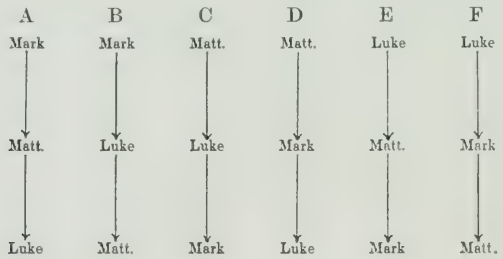
But a still more instructive illustration of the literary method of that age is furnished in the Diatessaron of Tatian prepared by an Assyrian Christian about 175 A. D. From our four gospels substantially as we now have them, Tatian with scissors and paste constructed a new composite gospel, which came into common use in the churches of Syria, till in the fifth century Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, removed this composite work from the churches, putting in its place the separate gospels. In this case, we are dealing, not with scattered quotations occurring in the midst of what is in the main an independent work, nor with an appendix added to complete what was evidently felt to be an incomplete gospel, but with a work which, on the one hand, was composed wholly of material already extant, and, on the other, was intended to be a complete work in itself. The production of the Diatessaron from the extant canonical gospels was, moreover, simply a further step in the process the earlier stages of which are reflected in the preface of Luke. The sources of the composite book we not only know to have been written, but we have them in our hands, and are able therefore, despite the fact that our only complete witness to Tatian's text is an Arabic translation, and that the confirmatory testimony comes to us through the medium of other languages than the original Greek, to compare the resultant work with the sources. It is, of course, a problem in textual criticism to determine with accuracy the precise text of this work as it left Tatian's hands, as well as to ascertain the precise form of the text of the several gospels which he used. But any uncertainty upon these matters affects only the details of the problem, leaving its main lines clear and distinct. The exhibition in detail of the relation of the Diatessaron to its sources is itself a subject for an extended paper, and cannot be undertaken here. But the student who will make the necessary examination will find that, while Tatian clearly possessed and used our four gospels as his sources, and had no others of importance, and while he evidently intended in general to include every event, discourse, and saying found in the four gospels,[10] and in general to record each such event and discourse but once, omitting duplicate accounts, and to retain the paragraphs in substantially their original form, yet there are examples of almost every possible kind of modification of his sources, including addition, duplication, omission, conflation, modification of grammatical

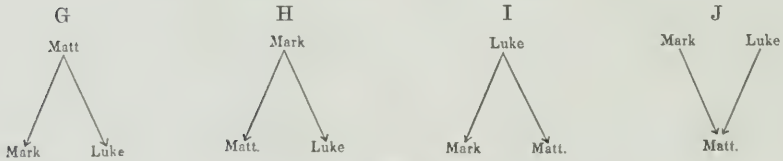
[10] The only considerable omissions are the preface of Luke and, according to the preponderance of evidence, the genealogies. The story of the woman taken in adultery and Mark 16:9–20 were without doubt not in the sources used by Tatian. For a full exhibit of the facts respecting Tatian which bear upon the problem discussed in this paper see HOBSON, *The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem* (Chicago, 1904).

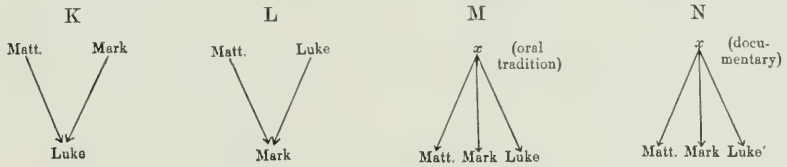
form, substitution of equivalent terms, and especially of transposition, extending to words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and events. It is evident, indeed, that Tatian framed for himself a scheme of the life of Jesus, and fitted into it the material of the four gospels, freely changing, in order to accomplish this, the location of events even when the gospels definitely marked the time, and building up new discourses out of those which he found in the gospels. He shows no marked tendency either to abbreviate or to expand the individual paragraphs which he derives from his several sources.

Tatian's work, not to go further into detail, makes it wholly clear that in the second century, in which there is every reason to believe that the four gospels were held in even greater reverence, and had more nearly attained a position of finality, than was the case in the first century respecting the many gospels of which the preface of Luke speaks, it was still possible both that the method of constructing books out of other existing books, which we know from such examples as the Book of Enoch and the Teaching of the Apostles to have been common in that age, might be applied to the gospels, and that a gospel so constructed might even displace, in certain regions at least, the older and more directly apostolic sources of such a composite gospel. It cannot, of course, prove that Luke and Matthew were produced by the same process, but it does forbid us to deny the possibility of their production by such a process on the ground that it was contrary to the literary method of the age, or that reverence for the sources would have prevented it.

These facts enable us to test a considerable number of hypotheses respecting the relation of the gospels to one another. Thus, to represent the matter graphically, they tend to show the correctness or incorrectness of all the following views:







Hypothesis M, standing apart in some respects from all the rest, may be considered first. It is in favor of it that it recognizes the existence of an oral tradition antedating all written gospels, which is rendered probable by the preface of Luke, and that it accounts in general for the variations of the gospels from one another in threefold material and for the differences of order. But it is against it that it fails to account for that large amount of close verbal agreement which exists between the gospels (*cf.* 3 above, p. 13); that it very unsatisfactorily accounts for the remarkable agreement between the gospels, especially between Mark and Luke, in order of sections (*cf.* 6, above, p. 18); and that it furnishes no explanation of the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold matter (*cf.* 5c, above, p. 17). According to any hypothesis which predicates a common source for all three gospels, the three kinds of binary agreements against the third document should be not conspicuously unequal. It is, furthermore, an objection to this theory that it ignores the existence of gospel writings older at least than the latest of our synoptists, which is attested by the preface of Luke, and confirmed by the statement of Papias concerning the λόγια-collection made by Matt. (*cf.* 7, above, p. 19), and the strong probability, in view of the literary methods of the time (*cf.* 8, pp. 20 ff.), that such earlier writings would be employed by our evangelists. Still other objections to this view will appear at a later point. But those already stated, even if they are not themselves fatal, are sufficient to lead us to inquire whether there is not another hypothesis which is less open to objection.

Of the other hypotheses, A, B, C, E, G, and I are excluded by the facts mentioned under 5a, b; A, E, and G, because they exclude any large number of significant agreements of Mark and Luke against Matt. (*cf.* 5b, p. 16); and B, C, and I, because they exclude any considerable number of such agreements of Mark and Matt. against Luke (*cf.* 5a, p. 16), whereas such agreements are, in fact, very numerous throughout threefold material. Hypotheses D and F are shown to be inadequate explanations because they fail to account for the large amount of material occurring in whole sections or paragraphs found in both Matt. and Luke, but not in Mark. J, K, and L are shown to be inadequate by failing to account for any of the material common to all three of the gospels; for any of that which is common to the two documents from which the third is *ex hypothesi* derived; and for material peculiar to the derivative document. J and K are still further open to the objection that the resultant gospel (in J, Matt.; in K, Luke) must in a large number of instances have departed, in detail of

threefold narrative, from both their respective sources, even when these were in agreement. Against N is the significant fact (already urged against M) of the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narratives, as compared with the agreement of Matt. and Mark against Luke, and Mark and Luke against Matt. Before deciding, however, whether hypothesis N is to be excluded, it will be well to compare it with certain other hypotheses which are obviously suggested by the fact that the evidence already examined seems to suggest for Mark a position as in some sense the middle term between Mark and Luke.

Dismissing for the present all other hypotheses, let us compare hypotheses H and N. The question as between these hypotheses may be put in this form: Is Mark the source of Matt. and Luke so far as concerns the threefold narratives, or have these narratives a common source different from any one of them? If the latter is the case, wherein did this common source differ from Mark? To answer these questions let us refer again to the facts stated under 4 and 5 respecting the nature of the agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark. It has been pointed out there that the positive agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative are about one-third those of Mark and Luke against Matt., and one-sixth of those of Matt. and Mark against Luke; that the agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in omissions, amounting to about 1,000 words, a little less than one-tenth of the gospel, are a little less than those of Mark and Matt. against Luke, and a little more than those of Mark and Luke against Matt.; and that there are no agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in order of sections or paragraphs. It has also appeared that an important fraction of the positive agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark are explicable as due to a motive for changing Mark by which Matt. and Luke might both be affected, and that of the total number of such agreements only fifteen cause a material difference between the several accounts. We have already seen that the list of entire passages in the omission of which Matt. and Luke agree against Mark is a brief one. See 4 f. From these facts it will appear that if we choose hypothesis N in preference to H, the document x which we shall then construct as the common source of Matt., Mark, and Luke will differ in no important respect from the present gospel of Mark. Upon the supposition that Matt. and Luke could not independently agree in the omission of occasional sentences and phrases, and five or six short passages, the latter aggregating about twenty verses, and that the text of Matt. and Luke, as we possess them in our best critical editions, has suffered no harmonistic corruption, we should indeed be compelled, in order to restore x, to add to the present Mark some 15 phrases aggregating 37 words; to subtract about 1,000 words occurring here and there throughout the gospel, and some twenty verses occurring in five detached passages, and in 240 words to make slight changes, largely inflectional and not affecting the sense. In no instance should we transpose any of the material from its position in the present gospel of Mark.

But, in fact, neither of the above assumptions is justified. The omission by

Matt. and Luke of 1,000 words found in Mark in sections which, as sections, appear in all three gospels, seems at first a weighty fact. But an examination of this material shows that in a relatively small proportion of cases are the facts best explained by assuming the absence of this material from the source. In very few cases is the departure of Matt. and Luke from the Mark narrative the result of simple omission of the same phrase or sentence; the concurrent omission is only the common resultant of processes of modification—condensation or free reproduction—which are in themselves quite different in the two cases. Thus for example in Mark 11:15–17 and parallels, Matt. and Luke both have a shorter account than Mark, Matt., however, passing over Mark's vs. 16, Luke omitting 15b (longer than 16) and 16. Mark, chap. 5, and parallels, furnish a still better illustration. Matt. and Luke both contain a shorter account than Mark and coincide in the omission of over 100 words, yet never effect the omission in the same way. The changes thus made by the two evangelists, which result in a long list of words omitted in common, are moreover entirely similar to those which appear in passages in which, there being but two accounts, of which Mark is one, the other gospel, Matt. or Luke, gives a shorter account than Mark; or in cases in which, there being three accounts, only one, either Matt. or Luke, is abbreviated. See for example Mark 8:30–33; 9:9, 10, 38–41; 10:32–34; 13:4–23, 28–32, and the parallels. In short the Matt.-Luke coincidences in omission of material found in Mark are for the most part explicable as the result of causes which evidently affected Matt. and Luke alike, but independently. There remain indeed a few instances which are not naturally so explicable. Among these are Mark 1:2b, in which the agreement of the form of the quotation with that in Matt. 11:10 and Luke 7:27, and that too precisely in those particulars in which Matt. and Luke depart from both the Hebrew original and the Septuagint version, together with the improbability that if Matt. and Luke derived this quotation from Mark rather than the converse they would have agreed in inserting the quotation at precisely the same point in their respective narratives, creates a probability that Mark is at this point secondary to Matt. and Luke, or to the document from which Matt. and Luke derived their narrative of the message from John the Baptist. But when this one instance has been admitted it becomes less improbable that there are others, among which may perhaps be included Mark 1:13b, *καὶ ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων*, 2:27 *τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἄνθρωπος διὰ τὸ σάββατον*, an expression which one cannot doubt came from Jesus' lips, but for the omission of which by Matt. and Luke if they had it before them in Mark's gospel it is difficult to assign a reason; 3:5, *μετ' ὀργῆς, συλλυπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πωρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*, though it is easy to suppose that both evangelists should have had a reason for omitting *μετ' ὀργῆς*. Other possible examples might be cited, but for none of them can a very strong case be made out.

The presence in Matt. and Luke of common additions to the Mark text of threefold narratives presents of course a different problem. In so far as it is not explicable as due to an influence affecting both evangelists alike it must be explained, if Mark is

the source of the other two gospels, as due either to the early disappearance from Mark of words originally contained in his text, or to early assimilation of the text of Matt. and Luke. The first of these causes cannot be excluded, but definite evidence of its operation is of course absent; the second, however, viz.: assimilation of the text of Matt. and Luke at so early a point in the history of these gospels that it is impossible to detect and correct it from our existing evidence, though of course like the preceding incapable of direct proof in particular cases, is rendered probable by the general character of the evidence for the text of the gospels. So far from it being reasonable to assume that we are able with our existing evidence to discover all instances in which the two gospels have been assimilated to one another, it is practically certain that the tendencies which we discover by the examination of the existing evidence were already at work in a period antedating extant evidence.

Nevertheless it would be an unwarranted proceeding to affirm that all the agreements of Matt. and Luke in omission are due to accidental coincidence, or to the operation of similar motives affecting both minds; or, on the other hand, that all positive agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark is due either to these causes, or to harmonistic assimilation of Matt. and Luke, antedating existing evidence. We must remain content apparently with that which the evidence seems clearly to establish, namely, that the common source of the threefold narrative of Matt., Mark, and Luke must have contained substantially the material which we now have in our present gospel of Mark, arranged in the same order in which it now stands in that gospel; that there is little reason to suspect a greater divergence of the present gospel of Mark from what we may call the original Mark than is indicated in the additions and omissions suggested above; and it may even be the case that a considerable part of this apparent divergence is only apparent, being due either to a similar modification of their source by Matt. and Luke, or to assimilation of Matt. and Luke to one another subsequent to the construction of their respective gospels, but antecedent to the date of our oldest textual evidence. It is evident that at this point documentary criticism and textual criticism meet and merge. It is possible that the divergence of our present Mark from the form in which it was apparently used as a source by Matt. and Luke is due almost wholly to causes which, if we were able definitely to discover them, would be found to belong to the field of textual criticism. It appears therefore that, in view of the facts, hypothesis N must involve the view that x is not very different from our present Mark, and that hypothesis H must recognize that Mark may have undergone some slight change, editorial or scribal, between the time of its use by Matt. and Luke and the time to which our textual evidence carries us back; and that so modified either of these hypotheses will account for the triple narrative of the synoptic gospels. For convenience we may then dismiss hypothesis N, and speak hereafter in terms of H, it being understood that this hypothesis is subject to the qualifications already indicated.

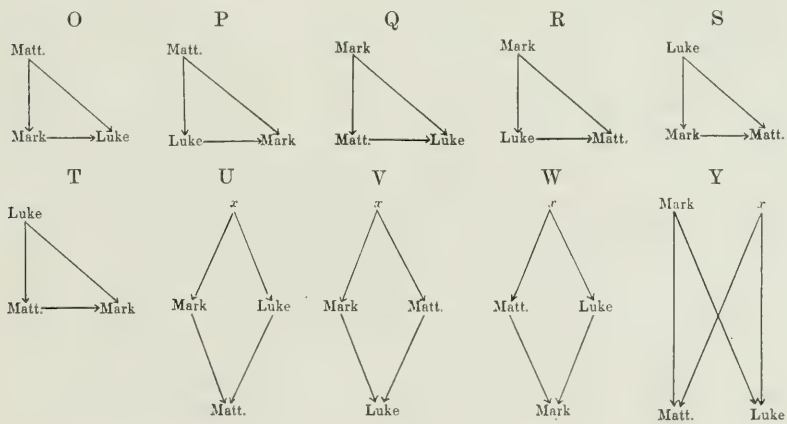
But while this hypothesis H accounts for the threefold material, it as evidently

fails to account for that large amount of material common to Matt. and Luke not found in Mark, to say nothing of parts peculiar to each of the gospels. This hypothesis must therefore be classed with D, F, J, K, L, as inadequate.

Our next task must therefore be to consider possible modifications of these inadequate hypotheses, with a view to accounting for those facts which they fail to explain. Thus, to account for the facts, D may be supplemented by the hypothesis that Matt. was used by Luke as well as by Mark; F, by the hypothesis that Luke was used by Matt. as well as by Mark; H, by the hypothesis that Luke used Matt. also as well as Mark, or that Matt. used Luke also as well as Mark; J, by that of a non-extant document used by Mark and Luke; K, by that of a non-extant document used by Matt. and Mark; and L and H may each be supplemented by the hypothesis of a non-extant document used by Matt. or Luke.

But we have also to recognize that certain modifications of the rejected hypotheses, A, B, C, E, G, I, by creating new lines of connection between the gospels and thus accounting for resemblances not accounted for by the simple hypotheses, relieve these latter from some at least of the objections on the basis of which they were rejected. Thus A may be supplemented by the hypothesis that Mark was used by Luke as well as by Matt.; B, by the hypothesis that Mark was used by Matt. as well as by Luke; C, by the hypothesis that Matt. was used by Mark as well as by Luke; E, by the hypothesis that Luke was used by Mark as well as by Matt; G, by the hypothesis that Luke used Mark also, as well as Matt.; and I, by the hypothesis that Matt. used Mark also, as well as Luke.

In other words, these facts lead us to consider the hypotheses indicated by the following diagrams:



For the testing of these hypotheses we need to take into account certain further facts concerning the material common to Matt. and Luke, but not found in Mark.

9. Matt. and Luke each have a story of the infancy. In several particulars these stories agree; as, *e. g.*, in the names of the parents, Joseph and Mary; the place of the birth, Bethlehem; the place of subsequent residence, Nazareth; the supernatural conception of the child, and his name, Jesus. But though each account occupies some two chapters, the only verbal similarity of the two accounts is in the announcement of the angel to Mary in Luke 1:31, *τέξῃ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* Ἰησοῦν, and the answering words, *ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* Ἰησοῦς, in 2:21; and the words of the angel to Joseph in Matt. 1:21, *τέξεται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* Ἰησοῦν, and the corresponding words, *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* Ἰησοῦν, in 1:23. If one compare these facts with the facts concerning the relation of Matt. and Luke in other periods of the life of Jesus—as, *e. g.*, with the close verbal parallelism of the two similarly located accounts of the preaching of John the Baptist (Matt. 3:7–9, 12; Luke 3:7–9, 17) and of the temptation of Jesus (Matt. 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13), or again with the scarcely less clearly marked verbal parallelism of passages which are very differently located in the two evangelists (see, *e. g.*, Matt. 11:25–27 and Luke 10:21, 22; Matt. 6:25–33 and Luke 12:22–31), it will be evident that the same explanation cannot be applied to the two classes of facts.

10. The facts respecting the distribution of the material common to Matt. and Luke referred to in 4d above, p. 15, are peculiar and noteworthy.

In the infancy narrative there is, as already stated, no common material save one or two sentences, one of which in Matt. is addressed to Joseph and in Luke to Mary; and the other in each case is the evangelist's statement that the instructions were carried out.

In the narrative of John the Baptist and the associated account of the baptism and temptation of Jesus, the two narratives have, in addition to that which they share with Mark, two sections of closely parallel material similarly located (Matt. 3:7–9, 12; 4:1–11; Luke 3:7–9, 17; 4:1–13).

In the Galilean ministry there are three sections in which Matt. and Luke have an evident literary relationship and there is no Mark account. These three sections are the sermon on the mount, Luke 6:20–49, with its parallels in Matt., chaps. 5–7; the centurion's servant, Matt. 8:5–13 and Luke 7:1–10; John the Baptist's last message, Matt., 11:2–19 and Luke 7:18–35. The relation of the two discourses, or two versions of the one discourse, in Matt., chaps. 5, 6, 7, and Luke 6:20–49, so similar in certain respects, so different in certain others, will call for fuller consideration later. The other two sections exhibit in the two accounts a verbal similarity only less marked than in the narratives of John the Baptist and the temptation. As respects location, it is to be noted that all three of these sections are assigned by both gospels to the same general period of Jesus' ministry, and stand in the same order; but are differently placed by reason of the intervention of different sections between them.

A distinctly different situation confronts us when we come to examine that portion of the material assigned by Luke's gospel to the Perean period which is paralleled in Matt. Of the 379 verses contained in Luke's Perean section (excluding Luke 18:15–43, which is parallel to Mark's account of this same period), 127 verses are found also in Matt. Of this number, 97 stand in Matt. in the Galilean ministry, and 30 in his account of the passion week;[11] not a verse is to be found in his account of the Perean period. There are parallelisms between the Matt. and Luke accounts of this period, but they are confined to that portion which both share with Mark. Such a phenomenon is certainly not the result of accident, but must find its explanation in the process by which the gospels were produced. When we turn to the passion week and resurrection story, we find no material common to Matt. and Luke only, exceeding the limits of a brief phrase or sentence,[12] and assigned by both to this period. Each has some material not found in Mark, and there is, as already indicated, considerable material in Matt. at this point that is found in Luke's Perean section; but the parallelism of material common to Matt. and Luke only, such as is found in the early period of the Galilean ministry, wholly disappears in this portion.

These facts enable us to eliminate certain of the hypotheses last enumerated. The objections to the different hypotheses are naturally to a considerable extent the same. Yet it will probably be most satisfactory to treat them *seriatim*, notwithstanding the repetition which this method will involve.

Against hypothesis O are the following considerations:

a. It fails to account for the absence of an infancy story in Mark. In itself this is, of course, not a weighty objection, since it is entirely possible that a later writer should for some reason prefer to begin the gospel with the public work of John the Baptist and Jesus; but the consideration is somewhat strengthened by the evidence that in the omission of the infancy narrative Mark represents the older conception of the limits of the gospel narrative. Appeal may be made on this point to the idea of the limits of the gospel expressed in Acts 1:22, "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day in which he was taken up from us." But more decisive is the testimony of the preface to the third gospel, the author of which, though he includes in his own gospel an infancy narrative, yet by his phrase, "they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," reflects the conception that the beginning of the gospel dates from the time when there were those who were both eyewitnesses and ministers of the word. To this may be added the testimony of the gospel of Mark itself, the first line of which, taken according to its most probable meaning, introduces the preaching of John the Baptist as the beginning of the gospel; not, of course, the beginning of this book, but of that gospel which lay back of the written book. When

[11] Mark may have furnished 13 verses of those which belong to the Galilean ministry, and 1 of those in the passion week. He contains practically equivalent material, but Matt. agrees verbally with Luke more closely than with Mark.

[12] Matt. 26:50a and Luke 22:48 are alike in substance, not in words; Matt. 26:68 and Luke 22:64 have five words in common which are not in Mark; Matt. 26:75 and Luke 22:62 have a phrase of five words in common, of which two appear in Mark, one of the latter in a different tense.

due weight is given to these facts, it appears distinctly improbable that a gospel which contains a narrative of the infancy is the source of a gospel which begins with the preaching of John the Baptist. In other words, this hypothesis reverses the order of descent which is rendered probable by the facts respecting the infancy narratives.

b. This hypothesis fails to account for the total dissimilarity of the infancy stories as found in Matt. and Luke. That Luke should, as this hypothesis assumes, reproduce in other portions of his gospel, and in many cases almost verbally, the material which he had before him in the gospels of Mark and Matt. (combining with it, as we must assume, material derived from other sources), yet should in the infancy period entirely ignore Matthew's narrative of this period, is certainly very improbable. In other words, this hypothesis contravenes the probability respecting Luke's method as shown by the body of the book.

c. This hypothesis fails to account for the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative. On the simpler hypothesis D, of which hypothesis O is a modification, there is, of course, nothing to produce such agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark. But when Luke is supposed to have used, not only Mark, but also Matt., which Mark had already used, there is then established a direct connection between Matt. and Luke, from which it would naturally result that Luke would sometimes follow Matt. and sometimes Mark in material which both possess, Mark having derived it from Matt. That Luke, following Matt. at times as closely as on this hypothesis he must have done, and sometimes displacing Mark for another source, should have so constantly preferred Mark to Matt. in details of material common to them both is not impossible but improbable. The full force of this objection can be felt only by a detailed comparison of the Greek text of the three narratives.

d. The narratives common to Matt. and Mark bear on the whole the marks of secondary character, not in Mark, but in Matt. *Cf.* 16, p. 46.

e. The theory fails to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perean section, and in Matt. in the Galilean ministry or passion week. If Luke had before him the two sources, Matt. and Mark, it is impossible to explain why in using material from Mark he should have followed the order of that evangelist so closely as he evidently does, and, on the other hand, in using material derived from Matt. not found in Mark, should so scrupulously assign the major portion of it to an entirely different period of the ministry from that to which Matt. had assigned it. This is all the more improbable in view of the fact that the material which on this hypothesis Luke must have derived from Matt. is in Matt. imbedded for the most part in extended discourses assigned, as above remarked, to the Galilean ministry or the passion week. Now, since Luke places this material in the Perean ministry, and assigns to the several fragments of it distributed through his record of this ministry specific historical occasions indicated by brief historical introductions, these must have been arbitrary inventions of the evangelist. But there is nothing in this

evangelist's methods of dealing with his other sources that would lead us to ascribe to him such a method of procedure.

f. It is inadequate in failing to account for the large amount of material peculiar to Luke. This objection belongs, however, in a different class from the preceding, tending to show not that the hypothesis is in itself incorrect, but that it is inadequate.

On the whole this hypothesis labors under insuperable difficulties.

The objections to hypotheses P, Q, R, S, T are for the most part similar to those already urged against O, and may be somewhat more briefly stated.

The objections to hypothesis P are:

a. It reverses the order of descent rendered probable by the facts respecting the infancy narratives, The facts already adduced from Acts 1:21, 22, the preface of Luke, and Mark 1:1 make even more strongly against this hypothesis than against O.

b. A total ignoring of the infancy story of Matt., such as is by this hypothesis ascribed to Luke, is unaccountable in view of the use which by the hypothesis Luke must have made of the other portions of Matt.

c. It fails to account for Mark's omission of that large amount of material which was furnished him in common by both his sources but is not found in his gospel.

d. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative.

e. It fails entirely to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perean section, in Matt. in the Galilean or passion week. Even aside from any comparison of it with his treatment of another source, such as we were able to make in considering hypothesis O, the treatment of the different portions of Matt. which this hypothesis ascribes to Luke is, as pointed out in discussing O, distinctly improbable.

f. It is inadequate in failing to account for the material peculiar to Luke.

The objections to hypothesis Q are:

a. Like O and P it fails to account for the absence of any influence of the infancy story of Matt. upon that in Luke.

b. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold narrative.

c. It fails to account for the treatment which Luke accorded to that portion of Matt. which he gathered together into his Perean ministry, differing so markedly as it does from that which, on this hypothesis, he accorded to other portions of Matt. and to Mark. The objection urged against O holds with full force against Q.

d. It is inadequate in failing to account for the material peculiar to Luke.

To hypothesis R it is to be objected:

a. It fails to account for the absence of any influence of Luke's infancy narrative upon that contained in Matt.

b. It fails to account for the relatively small amount of agreement between Matt. and Luke against Mark in material found also in Mark.

c. It fails to account for the totally different location of the material found in Luke in the Perean section, in Matt. in the Galilean ministry and passion week. The relation between Matt. and Luke is on this hypothesis, and on the two following, the reverse of that supposed in hypotheses O, P, and Q. But the improbability of the hypothesis at this point is only less than in the preceding three. It is true that if Matt. used Mark, he freely departed from Mark's order so far as concerns arrangement of the material in the first half of the Galilean ministry, that is, from Matt. 4:12 to 13:58. But in no case does he assign discourse material exceeding the limits of a verse or two and derived from Mark to a different period of the life of Jesus. Except in the first half of the Galilean ministry, as already indicated, his departures from Mark's order are extremely slight. The material contained in Luke in the pre-Galilean period he also assigns to the position in which it appears in Luke, and the material found in Luke in the Galilean ministry he likewise assigns to that period, though exercising the same freedom that he has used in respect to Mark. But according to this hypothesis Matt. must have dealt in an entirely different way with the material which he desired to use from Luke's Perean period, carefully placing every verse so employed in a different location, even in a different period of the ministry, from that to which Luke had assigned it. This procedure, while indicating that Matt. must have possessed much of the same material which Luke also contains, is quite inexplicable on the supposition that he had it before him in the precise form and position in which it stands in the gospel of Luke.

d. It is inadequate in failing to account for matter in Luke not found in Mark, or for the important material peculiar to Matt.

The objections to hypothesis S are:

a. By making Mark derivative it reverses the probable order of descent as indicated by the absence of an infancy story from Mark, and its presence in the source Luke.

b. It fails to account for the absence of any influence of Luke's infancy narrative upon Matt.

c. It inadequately accounts for the relatively small amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark in threefold material.

d. It ascribes to Matt. the same improbable way of treating the material of Luke's Perean section that is involved in hypothesis R.

e. It is inadequate in failing to account for the matter peculiar to Matt.

Hypothesis T is open to nearly the same objections as P, but is like R and S in that Matt. is made secondary to Luke. Thus

a. It fails to account for the absence of an infancy story in Mark.

b. It fails to account for Matt.'s independence of Luke in the infancy narratives.

c. It ascribes to Matt. the same treatment of the material of Luke's Perean section, the improbability of which has been pointed out in discussing R and S, although in this case we are without a basis of comparison, since by this hypothesis Matt. did not possess Mark.

d. It fails to account for Mark's omission of that large amount of material which was possessed in common by both his sources but is not found in his gospel.

e. It is inadequate in failing to account for the matter peculiar to Matt., or for the rejection by Mark of this addition to his material found in Luke and of the peculiar material of Luke. But neither this objection nor the immediately preceding one can be strongly urged, since we are without basis of comparison by which to decide by what motives Mark might have been influenced.

Concerning hypothesis U it is sufficient to say that x, being the source of Mark and Luke, must approximate either the one or the other of these gospels, or contain the material now found in both or either of them. In proportion as x approximates Mark the hypothesis approaches R and is open to the objections already urged against that theory. In proportion as x approximates Luke the hypothesis approaches S and is open to the objections urged against that theory. Nor will the difficulty of the hypothesis be obviated by supposing that x contained the sum of the material now found in Mark and Luke, for in that case not only will most of the objections already urged hold, but it will be necessary to suppose further that x contained a considerable number of duplicate narratives of which the two evangelists in each case selected a different one.

Hypothesis V in turn approaches Q if x be supposed to approximate Mark, and is open to the objections urged against Q, or approaches O if x be supposed to approximate Matt. Or, if x be supposed to include all the material now in Mark and Matt. it would be open to substantially the same objections as O.

Hypothesis W approaches P if x be supposed to approximate Matt., or T if x be supposed to approximate Luke. If x be supposed to include only the material common to Matt. and Luke, then it is entirely inadequate by reason of its failure to account for the material which each of them possesses in addition to that which it shares with the other. If x be supposed to include the material now found in both or either of them, not only must that document have been a strange assemblage of duplicates, but the two evangelists which drew from it must, in so large a number of cases as to be explained only by private arrangement between them, have chosen that form of narative, and those details of narrative, which the other evangelist omitted. Thus, the infancy narrative must have included both the Matt. and the Luke story, and the two evangelists must have so divided the material between them that each omitted what the other used, except, indeed, that both retained certain words of the angel concerning the birth of Jesus and his name, but took pains in this case to ascribe them to different occasions.

Conrady has, indeed, undertaken to defend the hypothesis that these infancy stories are derived from a common source, which he endeavors to relate in some way to the protevangelium of James; but such a hypothesis can only excite surprise that one who has carefully studied the way in which documents were used by ancient writers could have had sufficient confidence in this theory to propose it. Whatever view be

taken of x the theory is open to two objections, one of which also holds against several previous hypotheses, the other of which is peculiar to this theory.

a. By making Mark derivative it contravenes the probable order of descent as indicated by the facts concerning the infancy narratives. Considerations similar to those already adduced against hypotheses O and P on this point hold also against the present hypothesis.

b. It fails to account for the different methods of treatment which on this hypothesis both Matt. and Luke must have adopted toward different portions of the same source. The material which by hypothesis was afterward taken up by Mark, both Matt. and Luke reproduce in closely similar form, and in the main in the same order, the chief exception being in respect to the first half of the Galilean ministry in Matt., as already referred to. But the material which Mark did not afterward take up they treat differently from the way in which they treat Mark, differently from one another, and differently in different parts of the gospel. This fact must be accounted as almost conclusive evidence that we have in some way by this hypothesis reversed the actual order of proceeding. If we endeavor to avoid this difficulty by the obvious suggestion that x is in reality not one document but two, then it immediately appears that one of the two elements into which x is thus resolved must have been substantially the gospel of Mark; in other words, this modification of the hypothesis resolves hypothesis W into hypothesis Y.

If then we turn to consider hypothesis Y, we observe that it is consistent with most of the facts thus far adduced. The recognition of Mark as a common source of Matt. and Luke accounts for that portion of the gospel narrative which is common to all three. It is also consistent with the fact of agreements of Mark and Matt. against Luke, and of Mark and Luke against Matt., and of the much smaller amount of agreement of Matt. and Luke against Mark. The recognition of a second non-extant source of Matt. and Luke accounts in general for the existence in Matt. and Luke of material not found in Mark. The hypothesis is, however, inadequate. Thus—

a. It fails to account for the existence of entirely independent infancy stories in Matt. and Luke.

b. One document additional to Mark is inadequate to account for the great differences in arrangement and content of the post-infancy portions of Matt. and Luke. For it is evident that a document containing only the material common to Matt. and Luke fails to account for the important matter peculiar to the first and third gospels respectively. On the other hand a document containing both the non-Markan material common to Matt. and Luke and the material peculiar to each excludes the explanation of the great differences between Matt. and Luke in content and arrangement of non-Markan material by their possession of sources only in part the same, or by a difference in their method of combining the sources (such as would be natural or inevitable in case of a multiplicity of sources used by the two evangelists), and compels the supposition of a rearrangement, by one or the other of the evangelists, of the non-Markan

document possessed by them both, and a variant treatment of different parts of the same document by the same evangelist, for neither of which can any motive be discovered. If, for example, the non-Markan source be supposed to have contained the material common to Matt. and Luke in the setting in which it appears in Matt. we have nearly the same situation supposed in hypothesis O, and objection e urged against that hypothesis holds here also with slight modification. Or, if the non-Markan material existed in the form and connection in which Luke now has it, the situation is nearly the same as in hypothesis R, and objection c urged against that view holds here with little change. The facts still to be considered will set in still clearer light the inadequacy of one non-Markan source to account for all the facts.

The recognition of these inadequacies of hypothesis Y calls for its modification by the recognition of the fact that x is not in reality one document, but two, or even more.[13] In order to discover into how many parts x is to be resolved, and what the constituents of each part were, it will be necessary now to examine the gospels Matt. and Luke once more, and more closely, and to compare them with reference both to the material which they have in common and to that which is peculiar to each.

11. It is one of the long-ago observed peculiarities of the first gospel that it contains certain extended discourses of Jesus, somewhat regularly distributed through the book. There are in all six of these, occupying nine chapters of the gospel: the sermon on the mount in chaps. 5–7, the missionary discourse in chap. 10, the parables of the growth of the kingdom in chap. 13, the discourse on the personal relations of the disciples in chap. 18, the invective against the Pharisees in chap. 23, and the discourse on the end of the nation in chaps. 24 and 25. If now we examine these discourses with reference to the extent to which they are paralleled in the other gospels, we discover two facts: (1) In every case there is at an approximately corresponding place in one or both of the other synoptic gospels, a discourse, or at least a few sentences, on the theme of the discourse as given in Matt. In the case of the sermon on the mount this parallel discourse is in Luke only; in the case of all the rest it is found in both Mark and Luke.[14] (2) In every case the discourse in Matt. contains, in addition

[13] Hypothesis Y might also be modified by the theory that Mark also possessed x; or this might be combined with the resolution of x, in which case Mark might be supposed to have possessed one or more of the component elements of x. But the only advantage gained by this dependence of Mark on x is that it would explain that relatively small amount of agreement which exists between Matt. and Luke against Mark. But against it are the objections (a) that it fails to account for the fact that this agreement is so small in amount; if Matt. and Luke both possessed a source of Mark, it would be reasonable to expect that they would oftener adopt readings of that source which Mark had modified; (b) that in the form which leaves x unresolved it supposes Mark to have omitted from his sources more material than he used; in the form which resolves x into elements, the only part that could on the basis of evidence be supposed to be in Mark's hands would be a slightly different recension of what we now possess in Mark; this amounts simply to saying that the present Mark is a slightly different edition from that which Matt. and Luke used; (c) that it unnecessarily complicates the hypothesis.

[14] This general parallelism of the discourses of Matt. with material found in Mark and Luke will appear in the following list:

The sermon on the mount:	Matt., chaps. 5–7		Luke 6:20–49
The mission of the Twelve:	Matt. 10:1—11:1	Mark 6:7–13	Luke 9:1–6
The parables by the sea:	Matt. 13:1–53	Mark 4:1–34	Luke 8:4–18
Personal relations of disciples:	Matt., chap. 18	Mark 9:33–50	Luke 9:46–50
Discourse against the Pharisees:	Matt., chap. 23	Mark 12:38–40	Luke 20:45–47
Eschatological discourse:	Matt., chaps. 24, 25.	Mark, chap. 13	Luke 21:5–38

to the material which is parallel to that of the corresponding section in Mark or Luke, certain other material. If now we examine this additional material, looking for parallels to it in other parts of the other gospels, we shall discover that it is of three kinds:

a. There is in each of the discourses a certain portion peculiar to Matt.

b. There is a large amount of material paralleled only in Luke, and at an entirely different place, though usually closely resembling it in language. The Luke parallels of this last material (save that Matt. 10:24a=Luke 6:40a) are invariably in his Perean section, 9:51—18:14; 19:1–28; *i. e.*, in that portion of his record of the Perean ministry of which there are no parallels in Mark's record of this period.

c. There is in some of these discourses a small amount of material found also in Mark, but in a different position, much of this being also paralleled in Luke in a position corresponding to that of Mark. It is worthy of notice that in no instance do the Matt. discourses contain material parallel to that in Luke, except such as is either in the six parallel discourses (in every instance except the sermon on the mount the Luke discourse being closely parallel to that found in the corresponding place in Mark) or in the Perean section.

If now, dismissing these results from mind altogether, we undertake a study of these discourses of Jesus as reported in Matt. with reference to their content and structure, we discover that there are certain portions of them which give us difficulty, either because they interrupt what seems to be the evident logical structure of the discourse, or because they are as evidently inappropriate to the occasion described in the introduction to the discourse. Thus in the sermon on the mount we find that there are certain portions which, though not so distinctly foreign to the general course of thought as to arrest the attention of the casual reader, do yet disclose themselves as such to careful study. For example, chap. 6 opens with the words: "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men to be seen of them; else ye have no reward with your Father who is in heaven." It is evident that Jesus is here passing to contrast the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven with the conduct of the Pharisees, as in the preceding chapter he had contrasted it with their teaching, and specifically now in respect to ostentatiousness. Positively stated, he is insisting upon righteousness of the heart and before God, who knows the heart, in contrast with outward conduct performed to win the praise of men, just as in chap. 5 he had contrasted righteousness of the heart with a literalism that kept the letter of the statute at the sacrifice of real morality. It is scarcely less clear that he here gives three illustrations of this general teaching, viz., almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. If now the first and third of these illustrations be compared, the paragraphs severally devoted to them will be seen to be exactly symmetrical in structure. They begin with similar words, "When thou doest alms," "When ye fast," and each ends with the words, "and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee." The intervening verses, moreover, are exactly parallel in thought and form, differing only in that which forms the subject of the illustration. If the second illustration be examined, it will be found that the first two verses constitute a

perfect parallel to the first and third illustrations. To these verses, however, there are added in the case of the second illustration nine more, which not only exceed the parallelism and destroy the symmetry of structure, but, what is much more significant, carry the thought away from righteousness before God, illustrated in the case of prayer, to prayer in general, first to simplicity in prayer, and then to the forgiving spirit as the condition of securing the answer to our prayer for forgiveness.

If we extend our study to the sermon on the mount as a whole, we shall find that similar phenomena characterize the whole discourse. Studied throughout with reference to its structure and course of thought, and wholly without reference to the bearing of the results on the synoptic problem, it will be found to contain two somewhat distinct strata of material. There is first a discourse on a clearly defined theme, the righteousness of the kingdom of heaven, especially in relation to the current ethics which were professedly derived from the Old Testament. This discourse has a well-defined structure, and presents no difficulties of analysis that are at all serious. Overlying this, or, to drop the figure, interpolated into it, is a series of additions, each of which is either attached, as the words about prayer are, to a paragraph dealing with the same theme, from which they are nevertheless a digression, or constitutes an entirely new paragraph more or less closely related in thought to that paragraph of the first stratum which it follows.

If, furthermore, the two strata themselves be examined with reference to their parallels in other parts of the gospels, it will be found that the facts respecting them are different. The first one constitutes a discourse which has a manifest relationship with that which stands in Luke 6:20–49, and yet is as clearly different from it. The two are similar in general theme and in certain striking sentences, and, what is most remarkable, in the order of the similar parts, there being but three or four instances of parallel verses differently placed, and but one (Matt. 7:12; Luke 6:31) in which the difference of position exceeds the limits of a paragraph. On the other hand, the two discourses are very unequal in extent, that of Matt. being three and one-half times as long as Luke's, but Luke's also containing some material not in Matt. They are very different in point of view, Luke's form wholly lacking the Jewish atmosphere which is so characteristic of Matthew's. It is impossible to doubt that these discourses are in some way related; it is impossible to suppose that either can have been derived wholly from the other, difficult to suppose that either can have constituted a direct and chief source of the other. The resemblance is widely different in degree, if not in kind, from that which marks those portions of the gospels which we are constrained to refer to a common source, and the resemblance between the basal stratum of the Matt. discourse and Luke 6:20–49 is widely different from that which appears in comparing those portions of this discourse which are paralleled in Luke's Perean section with the Lukan version of them.

Since neither Luke nor Mark can have been the sole source of the basal stratum in Matt., we are compelled to posit a source no longer extant in separate form, and

presumably distinct from any document possessed by Luke, since much of the material of which we are speaking does not appear in his gospel.

The interjected material, on the other hand, has in general no parallel in the corresponding discourse in Luke, but almost all of it is paralleled in other portions of the gospels. It is of two kinds as respects the location of its parallels. The largest portion of it is found in Luke's Perean section.[15] A small portion is paralleled in Mark.[16] A few verses are paralleled more or less completely both in Luke's Perean section and in Mark.[17]

Now, these facts, combined with those which we have already considered with reference to the relation of the gospels, point strongly to the conclusion that the sermon on the mount in its present form is drawn from at least three sources; first, a basal discourse—a discourse more or less closely resembling that which is contained in Luke 6:20–49; second, a document which contained Luke, chaps. 11 and 12, and probably chap. 16, but which was not our present Luke; and, third, the gospel of Mark. The few sentences in this discourse which are paralleled in Mark would not perhaps require this addition, but, in view of the other evidence that Matt. possessed Mark, this is the simplest way to account for them.[18]

The discourse which with its introduction is contained in Matt. 9:36—11:1 is not less instructive, though the facts are somewhat different. This discourse is said to have been spoken to the Twelve on the occasion of sending them out on a missionary journey. In the early part of it Jesus instructs them to go only to the lost sheep

[15] Matt. 5:25, 26 has its parallel in Luke 12:58, 59; Matt. 5:32 in Luke 16:18; Matt. 6:8 in Luke 12:30; Matt. 6:9–13 in Luke 11:2–4; Matt. 6:19–34 in Luke 12:22–34; 11:34, 35; 16:13; Matt. 7:7–11 in Luke 11:9–13. Besides these seven passages, there are several which do not so clearly interrupt the course of thought in Matt. Matt. 5:13b is paralleled in Luke 14:34; Matt. 5:15 in Luke 11:33; Matt. 5:18 in Luke 16:17; Matt. 7:13, 14 in Luke 13:24.

[16] Matt. 5:29, 30 is paralleled in Mark 9:43, 47 (and Matt. 18:8, 9); Matt. 5:32 in Mark 10:11 (and Matt. 19:9); Matt. 6:14 in Mark 11:25.

[17] Thus with Matt. 5:13b *cf.* Luke 14:34, 35 and Mark 9:50; with Matt. 5:15 *cf.* Luke 11:33 and Mark 4:21 (also Luke 8:16); with Matt. 5:32 *cf.* Luke 16:18 and Mark 10:11 (also Matt. 19:9).

[18] If we inquire more closely respecting the origin of the sermon as given by Matt., two hypotheses suggest themselves as possibly accounting for the facts. (a) It may be that we have in Luke's discourse and in that portion of Matt. which we have designated as its first or basal stratum two different recensions of the same material. These two recensions have evidently diverged widely from one another under the influence of the intention to adapt them to different readers or hearers, and have exercised little influence upon one another since their divergence, yet have retained, especially in order of topics treated, clearly recognizable evidence of their relationship. (b) The discourse in the Lukan form may be the basis upon which, with the use of material drawn from an independent source, the discourse in Matt. has been built up. The second of these hypotheses is favored by the close verbal resemblance of a small portion of the material which Matt. has in common with Luke (see especially Matt. 7:1–5; Luke 6:37a, 38b, 41, 42), and by the close resemblance in order of parallel material. The first hypothesis is favored by the independent treatment of the subject which characterizes most of the Matt. discourse which is parallel to Luke 6:20–49, by the clearly marked plan and clearly defined and independent point of view of the basal discourse in Matt., and by the fact that the second hypothesis compels us to suppose that the same writer first built up out of two sources a discourse having marked unity and definiteness of purpose, and then destroyed that unity by additions from a third source; for if it be said that these two steps were taken by different authors, then the final author of the gospel already possessed the discourse, not in its elements, Luke 6:20–49 and a second source, but with these two combined into what we have called the basal discourse in Matt. The diverse indications of the evidence suggest modifications of the first hypothesis in the direction of the second. Thus the close verbal parallelism of Matt. 7:1–5 with Luke 6:37a, 38b, 41, 42, combined with the close resemblance in order of the sentences common to the discourses, may lead to the conclusion that, while Matt. possessed a discourse having substantially the characteristics of the basal discourse in this gospel, he also possessed Luke 6:20–49 and made some use of it. This view is somewhat favored again by observing that, while Matt. 7:1–5 is not distinctly foreign to the basal discourse, it is less clearly germane to it than those portions in which the verbal resemblance to Luke 6:20–49 is less clearly marked.

of the house of Israel, but in the next paragraph, 10:16 ff., there is a sudden forward projection in time, and a sudden widening of the horizon. He speaks of their being delivered up to councils, of being scourged in the synagogues, of being brought before governors and kings for a testimony to them and to the gentiles, and finally declares: "Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Judea till the Son of man be come." These words evidently refer to the time after his departure, and their incongruity with this occasion is evident.

If now we look for the parallels of this discourse that appear in the corresponding sections in Mark and Luke, we discover that they are confined to six verses (1, 10–14), and that none of the incongruous material appears in these verses. If we examine the material outside these six verses, including of course all the incongruous matter, as well as some which is not inappropriate to this occasion, we find that (save for 10:24a) it falls into three parts: first, material which has no parallel in the other gospels; second, material which is paralleled in the Perean portion of Luke; and, third, material which is paralleled in Mark, chiefly in his report of the eschatological discourse of Jesus spoken just before his death. Except for half a verse, therefore, the Matt. discourse contains no material parallel to Luke that is not found either in the corresponding portion of Mark or in Luke's Perean section. Thus the general facts respecting this discourse are the same as respecting the sermon on the mount, except that, whereas in the sermon on the mount the basal element was a different recension of the discourse found in Luke 6:20–49, in this case it is in a passage of six verses paralleled at the corresponding place in Mark. The facts in detail will be easily seen by referring to the table appended to this essay.

We may next examine the parables in Matt. 13:1–53. There are seven of them. Two of them, together with the interpretation of the first and the discussion concerning the reason for teaching in parables, are closely paralleled in Mark and in the parallel passage in Luke. The tests for three documents, it may be said in passing, strongly suggest the originality of Mark and the independent use of Mark by the other two gospels. Two of the seven are found in Luke's Perean portion, chap. 13, one of these being included in the two previously mentioned. The remaining four are peculiar to Matt. The facts are therefore substantially the same as in the preceding case, but differ in two minor particulars. There is in this case no material parallel to that which is found in Mark, except that which appears in the principal and similarly located parallel passage. One of the parables, that of the mustard seed, appears both in the corresponding passage of Mark and in Luke's Perean section. It is instructive to observe that the parable of the leaven immediately follows the parable of the mustard seed both in Luke's Perean section and in Matt. Plurality of sources for Matthew's chapter, as also the presence in both sources of the parable of the mustard seed, is obviously suggested. Of like significance is the double termination of the collection in Matt.'s chapter, vss. 34, 35, parallel to Mark 4:33, 34, with which he concludes his collection of parables, forming the first conclusion, and vs. 53, peculiar to this

gospel, the second. Though we do not possess separately the source from which the material peculiar to Matt. is drawn, this fact certainly suggests conflation of Mark with this non-extant document, and the whole chapter has the marks of being a conflation of elements drawn from three different sources.

The facts respecting the other three long discourses in Matt. can be briefly stated. In the discourse on the personal relations of the members of the kingdom, Matt., chap. 18, the introduction, vss. 1, 2, is similar to the introduction to the parallel passage in Mark (9:33–36) and Luke (9:46, 47). Of the thirty-three verses which make up the discourse proper, vss. 5, 6, 8, 9 are closely parallel to Mark's corresponding section; vss. 3, 12–14 are paralleled in Luke's Perean section, though vs. 3 is also paralleled in a non-parallel section of Mark (10:15); and vss. 12–14 vary sufficiently from the Perean version (15:4–7) to raise the question whether Matt. drew it from that source or from some independent source containing substantially the same material. Vss. 10, 15–35 are peculiar to Matt., except for a partial parallelism of vss. 15 and 21 to Luke 17:3, 4.

In the discourse against the Pharisees, Matt., chap. 23, vss. 1, 6, 7a are parallel to the corresponding passage in Mark (12:38, 39). Vss. 4, 12, 13, 23, 25–27, 29–31, 34–36 are paralleled in thought, and to a certain extent in expression, to passages in the Perean section of Luke (11:39–52; 14:11; 18:14); vss. 37–39 are paralleled almost word for word in Luke 13:34, 35; vs. 11 is paralleled in non-parallel sections of Mark (9:35; 10:43, 44); and vss. 2, 3, 5, 7b–10, 15–22, 24, 28, 32, 33 are peculiar to Matt.

In the eschatological discourse, Matt., chaps. 24, 25, 24:1–9, 13–25, 29–36, 42 is closely parallel to Mark, with only slight additions and changes; 24:26–28, 37–41, 43–51 is paralleled in Luke's Perean section (17:23–27, 34–37; 12:39, 40, 42–46), the verbal resemblance being for the most part very close; 24:10–12, and chap. 25 are peculiar to Matt., except for a slight parallelism with Luke's Perean section in 25:11, 12 (Luke 13:25) and a somewhat closer resemblance between the parable of the talents and Luke's (Perean) parable of the pounds (19:11–27), especially noticeable in the latter part (Matt. 25:24–29; Luke 19:20–25).

It thus appears that, with individual peculiarities in each case, the general facts respecting all these discourses are the same. In each, three elements appear, with the addition in some cases of a fourth of less importance. In each one there is a portion, usually closely connected with the narrative introduction, which is paralleled in the corresponding section of Mark, except that in the sermon on the mount the parallel is in Luke; in each case there is material peculiar to Matt.; in each case there is material paralleled in Luke's Perean section; in some cases there is a verse or two paralleled in a non-parallel section of Mark; in no case is any portion paralleled in Luke outside of 6:20–49, the Perean section, and passages themselves paralleled in Mark.

The portion of these long discourses just referred to of which there is no parallel in either Mark or Luke consists of approximately the following passages: 5:4, 7–10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19–24, 27, 28, 31, 33–39a, 41, 43; 6:1–7, 10b, 13b, 16–18,[19]

[19] Perhaps also 6:19, to which Luke 12:33 is only a substantial parallel.

34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 10:5, 6, 8b, 16b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 13:14, 15, 24–30, 35–53; 18:4, 10, 14, 16–20, 23–34; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b–10, 15–22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10–12, 30a; 25:1–11a, 13, 14–30,[20] 31–46, being in all about 160 to 165 verses.

12. The existence of this material in the longer discourses reported or built up by the author of the first gospel and peculiar to it, naturally raises the question whether there are also in the shorter discourses reported by this evangelist sayings of Jesus not reported in the other gospels. Examination discloses the fact that there are such and yields the following list: Matt. 3:14, 15; 9:13a; 11:28–30; 12:5–7, 11, 12a, 34; 16:17–19; 19:28; 20:1–15; 21:28–32, 43; 22:1–14; 26:52, 53, to which should perhaps be added certain passages in which sayings of Jesus are introduced by a brief narrative, viz., 15:12–14, 23, 24; 17:24–27; 19:10–12; 21:14–16, containing eight more verses of sayings of Jesus. There is, of course, no reason why these sayings of Jesus should be separated from those named above. If, then, we combine the two lists, we find that the following passages of Matt. contain reports of sayings attributed to Jesus and reported in the first gospel only: 3:14, 15; 5:4, 7–10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19–24, 27, 28, 31, 33–39a, 41, 43; 6:1–7, 10b, 13b, 16–18, 34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 9:13a; 10:5, 6, 8b, 16b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 11:28–30; 12:5–7, 11, 12a, 34; 13:14, 15, 24–30, 35–53; 15:12–14, 23, 24; 16:17–19; 17:24–27; 18:4, 10, 14, 16–20, 23–34; 19:10–12, 28; 20:1–15; 21:14–16, 28–32, 43; 22:1–14; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b–10, 15–22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10–12, 30a; 25:1–11a, 13, 14–46; 26:52, 53. Now, the existence of these verses in the gospel of Matt., about 230 in number, consisting of sayings of Jesus not reported in the other gospels and constituting a little over one-fifth of the whole gospel, cannot but remind us of the statement of Papias quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 39): *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.* The comparison of the gospels certainly suggests that these passages constituted a source of our gospel of Matt. It is in favor of the supposition that they were in fact contained in, or constituted, the original collection of sayings of Jesus to which Papias refers, that it conforms to this ancient and undisputed tradition, and that it explains, as no theory which makes the Matthean Logia a source of both Matt. and Luke or of all three synoptists can explain, how the present gospel of Matt. obtained the name. On this view the present gospel naturally took the name of that old document which it alone, of our present gospels at least, reproduced and of which it might almost be considered only an enlarged edition. Because of the relation of this document to our first gospel, and its probable relation to the apostle Matthew, we may properly call it the Matthean document, and refer to it by the abbreviation *M*.

13. The peculiar facts respecting the use by Matt. and Luke respectively of that material which the former has assigned to the Perean period, and which the latter has included in his great discourses, point strongly to the existence of this material as part

[20] Luke 19:1–27 has another version of what is evidently the same parable which Matt. reports in 25:14–30; in the latter portion, vss. 26–29 of Matt., 22–26 of Luke, the parallelism is very close.

of a separate document possessed by them in common, but very differently employed. That both evangelists used such a common source, not one of them the completed gospel of the other, is shown by facts already referred to (see 10, pp. 28 f., and the discussion of hypotheses O and R, pp. 29, 31). It remains, however, to inquire what was the extent of this document, and in what form it existed. Obviously our first inquiry is whether either of its present existing forms will account for the other; if so, it is needless to posit some third non-existent form.

Will the form in which it exists in Matt. account for its form in Luke? To this a negative answer must be returned. (a) As this material exists in Matt., it is distributed through the Galilean ministry and the passover week. To suppose that Luke possessed this would be to suppose that he had a considerable part of the present gospel of Matt. But in that case it would be difficult to explain why, reproducing the discourse material, often with close verbal exactness, there should be so nearly a total absence of any influence of the narratives of Matt. in the same period upon Luke's narrative sections. (b) It would be impossible to explain why Luke should segregate this particular material, gathering it out of the period in which Matt. had placed it into a period in which Matt. had placed none of it. (c) It would compel the supposition that Luke had detached material from the discourses in which it stood in Matt. and invented for much of it entirely new historical occasions. For it is a fact long ago and often observed that the discourse material which Luke introduces by short narratives, Matt. includes in his long discourses. (d) It would leave still unaccounted for that portion of Luke's account of the Perean period which is contained neither in 18:15–43, parallel to Mark, chap. 10, nor in Matt., and so would still compel the positing of another source.

On the other hand, the hypothesis that a once separate document substantially identical with Luke 9:51—18:14 and 19:1–28 was possessed by both Matt. and Luke, the latter incorporating it bodily, save for the interjection of 18:15–43 from Mark, the former making general excerpts from it, chiefly of the sayings of Jesus, accounts for all the phenomena, and is itself open to no serious objection. That it was in its original form designated as a narrative of the Perean ministry is, in view of the first evangelist's use of it, not at all probable. The position assigned to it by Luke is perhaps sufficiently explained by a lack of any definite designation of it as the narrative of a particular period, together with the fact that both this document (Luke 18:35; 19:1) and Mark (10:46) recorded an arrival at Jericho, which it was obvious to identify. The transposition of material from its connection in this document to the location as given by Matt. would be unnatural in a writer who wished to give the sayings of Jesus as nearly as possible in their original connection, but not improbable in a writer who, as was evidently the case with the first evangelist, was building up an argument out of narrative material, and who, in details at least, controlled his arrangement by topical, not chronological, considerations. It would be easier to account for the absence from Matt. of so large a part of what is found in this document as it

appears in Luke, if we could suppose that he possessed a shorter recension of it, or that Luke added to the original common document material derived from tradition or some other document. But the simplest view is nevertheless that Matt. and Luke both possessed a document substantially identical with Luke 9:51—18:14; 19:1–28, lacking, however, any indication of the precise period to which the events belonged. With reference simply to its location in Luke it may be called the Perean document (*P*).

14. Mention has been made (10, p. 28) of five sections in part or wholly parallel in Matt. and Luke, this material not being found in Mark. One of these, the sermon on the mount, has already been discussed. The other four sections are the preaching of John the Baptist, the temptation of Jesus, the centurion's servant, and the message from John the Baptist—all, it will be observed, narrative in character, and all in the John the Baptist period, or in the Galilean ministry. In the first two instances the material common to Matt. and Luke appears in close combination with material found also in Mark. In the last two there is no related matter in Mark. The existence of these sections, suggesting that if the first and third evangelists possessed Mark as a common source, they had also some other source in common, naturally raises two inquiries: first, whether there is in either of the gospels any material that by its similarity or its connection betrays itself as probably from the same source; and, second, whether there is any clue to the method of either evangelist in using the two sources. In the attempt to answer the first of these questions our attention is directed to two groups of material. In the first of these Luke relates events which as events are either identical with, or very similar to, events also narrated by Mark, but the accounts of which are evidently not the same. These narratives are the call of the four (Mark 1:16–20; *cf.* Luke 5:1–11), the rejection at Nazareth (Mark 6:1–6; *cf.* Luke 4:16–30), and the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon (Mark 14:3–9; *cf.* Luke 7:36–50). The last named of these, it is to be noted, stands in immediate connection with the fourth of the narratives spoken of above as in whole or in part common to Matt. and Luke only. The second group includes passages peculiar to Luke standing in close connection with material common to Matt. and Luke. These passages are the words of John to the various classes of people (Luke 3:10–15, 19), the raising of the widow's son (Luke 6:11–17), and the women who accompanied Jesus (Luke 8:1–3). Thus the whole of Luke 7:1—8:3 is made up of material either common to Matt. and Luke or found only in Luke; in other words, of material not found in Mark. If now we examine all the material of these three groups—that which is common to Matt. and Luke, that which apparently displaces similar material in Mark, and that which is peculiar to Luke but stands in immediate connection with the sections first named—we discover a marked uniformity in general literary character. The narratives are all vividly told, surpassing in this respect even the vivid narratives of Mark, and in literary style reaching the high-water mark of this gospel. With this material it is natural to associate the other passage in Luke's Galilean ministry which is not

paralleled in Mark, viz., the sermon on the plain, or, if we may so call it, the Lukan version of the sermon on the mount. All the facts taken together suggest that in these passages, Luke 3:7–15, 17, 18; 4:2b–13 [14, 15] 16–30; 5:1–11; 6:20–49; 7:1—8:3, we have a gospel behind and within our present gospel.[21] The only alternative supposition is that we are dealing here with fragments of tradition, or brief separate documents, and against this view may be urged alike economy of hypothesis and the general literary resemblance of the whole material.[22] Having reference to the prevailing character of the content of this document, we may perhaps appropriately call it the Galilean Document, and refer to it by abbreviation as *G*.

15. Among the passages just discussed are, as already mentioned, two that take the place of similar narratives in Mark, not in the sense that they occupy corresponding positions, but that Luke, who alone inserts them, does not contain the different and differently placed accounts of similar events contained in Mark (and Matt.). This suggests the inquiry whether there are other instances of a similar proceeding on Luke's part. Examination discloses a number of such.

Thus, in addition to the two instances already named, it is to be observed that Luke, who tells in 7:36–50 the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee, omits the story of the anointing of Jesus in the house of Simon the leper told in Mark 14:3–9 and Matt. 26:6–13; relating in 22:24–27 Jesus' rebuke of the ambition of the disciples, he omits the partly similar account which Mark has in 10:35–45; and giving in 11:14–36 an account of the casting out of a demon and the charge of the Pharisees that Jesus cast out demons by Beelzebub, he omits the account which Mark gives in 3:22–29; narrating in 10:25–37 the answer of Jesus to the question of the lawyer, he omits the similar conversation with a lawyer recorded in Mark 12:28–34 and Matt. 22:34–40, though retaining certain phrases of Mark's account. In the two cases first mentioned Luke and Mark both assign their respective narratives to the Galilean ministry (though not to identical places in that period); in the last three cases the two similar events or narratives are assigned to distinctly different periods. The first of the three Luke places in the Galilean ministry, Mark in the passion week; the second Luke places in the passion week, Mark in the Perean

[21] Mr. Badham was, I believe, the first to call attention to the relation of these narratives to one another. He believed them to constitute the original Petrine gospel of Mark, no part of which he held is contained in our present Mark. See his *Formation of the Gospels*, first edition.

[22] There is not lacking a hint that there was in this lost book still other material additional to that now found in Luke. Returning to the narratives which apparently displace similar accounts in Mark, we may notice that, while the narratives common to Mark and Luke are almost without exception in the same order in the two gospels, the relation of Mark and Luke being in this respect in marked contrast with the relation of Mark and Matt., yet in those instances in which Luke gives a distinct account of what is apparently the same event as that narrated by Mark, he gives it also a different position. This fact is not only an indication that in these cases Luke is not simply expanding and embellishing the narrative of Mark, but is strong evidence that the narratives did not come to him as detached pieces. Their position, different from that of the sections which they displace, can only be accounted for on the assumption that they had a place in the source from which they were taken. But since, of course, place in this case is not absolute but relative, *i. e.*, consists in being after or before some other event—it is again strongly suggested that this lost source had some of the Mark events in relation to which they are set by Luke. If this be so, then it follows that Luke has not reproduced the whole of this book, but that, as is in itself intrinsically probable, he has in some cases preferred Mark to his other source, just as he has in these cases preferred the other source to Mark. But it will be evident that for order and general structure he has built chiefly on the lines laid down by Mark.

period; the third Luke places in the Perean period, Mark in the Galilean. It is very significant that while Matthew's account of this event occupies approximately the same position as Mark's, between the message from John the Baptist and the visit of Jesus' kindred to him, and is in considerable part verbally almost identical with Mark's account, yet it is also in other portions as closely like the account which we possess in Luke. It is perfectly clear that Matt. and Luke drew from a common source other than Mark, and scarcely less so that Matt. drew from Mark also. Whether Luke drew from this common source only (which in that case must have had some verbal similarity to Mark, but not enough to imply common literary origin), or, like Matthew, used Mark also, is not perfectly certain.

But there are still other facts to indicate a disposition on Luke's part to avoid including similar narratives even when contained in the same source. Thus the gospel of Mark, which, we have found reason to believe, was his chief source, contains an account of the feeding of the five thousand, and also of the feeding of the four thousand. But Luke, having given the first of these two similar accounts, omits the second one. Along with it, indeed, he omits also all the events which Mark includes between the two narratives of miraculous feeding, and the section immediately following the second one, concerning the sign from heaven. Now, the two chief sayings in the passage just referred to, Mark 8:10–21, Luke has in his Perean section. Mark 8:12 has its parallel in Luke 11:29; 8:14 in Luke 12:1. Does this perhaps account for the omission of this section at this point? There is, at any rate, one other similar case that seems to confirm this supposition. Luke, having given in 16:18 in one sentence the teaching of Jesus concerning divorce, omits the whole passage which Mark has in 10:2–12. Whether the explanation suggested for these last two cases be correct or not, and however we may account for the omission of the events which in Mark lie between the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand, it must be evident that Luke avoided in general repeating similar narratives, whether found in the same or different sources, and that in omitting these apparent duplicates he did not give the preference uniformly to any one source.[23]

16. These facts, which seem to indicate a peculiarity of Luke's method of using his sources, suggest the possibility of gaining some light upon our problem by a dis-

[23] The omission of the walking on the water, Mark 6:47-56, may perhaps be due to its similarity to the stilling of the tempest, which at 8:22-25 he had already taken from Mark 4:35-41. Of the omission of the material contained in Mark, chap. 7, I can suggest no explanation other than the not wholly satisfactory one that, finding in the feeding of the five thousand and the feeding of the four thousand narratives that he regarded as duplicates, and in the material immediately following each of these what he also wished to omit because of its similarity to material already included, or which he intended to include, he omitted the whole block, from Mark 6:47 to 8:21. It would still remain necessary to account for the omission of Mark 8:22-26. That this is neither in Matt. nor in Luke suggests the possibility that it was not present in the copy of Mark which the other evangelists used; in other words, that the original Mark was not quite identical with the present Mark. And this in turn raises the question whether the whole of Mark 6:47 (or 45) to and including 8:26 may possibly have been lacking in Luke's copy of Mark. Concerning the general view of a primitive Mark see above, pp. 24-26.

There are but three significant instances in which Luke has retained two similar narratives. These are (a) the sending out of the Twelve, 9:1-6, and the sending out of the Seventy, 10:1-16; (b) the healing of the leper, 5:12-16, and of the ten lepers, 17:11-19; (c) Jesus' prediction of his death and resurrection, 9:22-27; 9:43-45; 18:31-34. But in none of these instances is the similarity of the two narratives such as to suggest identity of the events.

covery of like peculiarities on the part of the first evangelist. A survey of the gospels in parallelism discloses two facts that seem to be of importance. The first of these is the condensed character of Matthew's narrative at certain points as compared with the accounts in the other gospels. Examples of shortening or condensation as compared with Mark are found in all the following sections:

A day in Capernaum:	Mark 1:21–34	Matt. 8:14–17.
Healing of a leper:	Mark 1:40–45	Matt. 8:1–4.
Healing of a paralytic:	Mark 2:1–12	Matt. 9:1–8
The Gerasene demoniac:	Mark 5:1–20	Matt. 8:28–34.
Jairus's daughter:	Mark 5:21–43	Matt. 9:18–26.
Rejection at Nazareth:	Mark 6:1–6a	Matt. 13:54–58.
Death of John the Baptist:	Mark 6:14–29	Matt. 14:1–12.
Feeding of the five thousand:	Mark 6:30–46	Matt. 14:13–23.
Eating with unwashen hands:	Mark 7:1–23	Matt. 15:1–20.[24]

In the few instances in which the narrative of Matt. is longer than Mark's, this arises from the addition of some saying of Jesus, or of some comment of the evangelist, the latter sometimes in the form of a reference to the fulfilment of prophecy.[25]

In the few narratives that are common to Matt. and Luke only, the relation of Matthew's account to Luke's is in general the same as to Mark's in the cases above enumerated. Thus in the story of the centurion's servant (Matt. 8:5–13; Luke 7:1–10), the narrative in Matt. is but two-thirds of the length of that in Luke, the apparent equality of the accounts being due to the inclusion by Matt. (vss. 11, 12) of certain *sayings* of Jesus found in Luke's Perean section (13:28, 29). In the story of the message from the Baptist (Matt. 11:2–19; Luke 7:18–35), the narrative in Matt. is again shorter than Luke's by the omission of the latter's vss. 20, 21, this shortage in narrative being balanced in quantity by the inclusion of sayings of Jesus in vss. 12–15, in part parallel to a passage in Luke's Perean section (16:16), in part parallel to Mark 9:12, interpreted as Matt. 17:13 shows that this evangelist understood it of John the Baptist, but perhaps derived from the independent sources of Matt. In the narrative of Jesus' answer to the disciples (Matt. 8:19–22; Luke 9:57–61), the narrative of Matt. is shorter by the omission of the story of the third disciple. It is particularly instructive to compare the relation of the Matt. and Luke narratives in the story of the centurion's servant with that of the Matt. and Mark accounts in the record of the raising of Jairus's daughter. In both cases the abbreviation of the Matt. story is due chiefly to his omission of the part taken by the agent of the principal person, and the ascription directly to the centurion in the one case, the ruler of the synagogue in the other, of that which in the parallel narrative is said to have been done for him by others. Now, aside from the fact that there is nothing in Matthew's narrative in either case to tempt to expansion by the introduction of an agent to act for the centurion and the ruler, it is certainly far more probable that the mind of one

[24] In this case Matt. also adds vss. 12-14.

[25] See Mark 1:14, 15 = Matt. 4:12-17; Mark 2: 23-28 = Matt. 12:1-8; Mark 6:47-52 = Matt. 14:24-33.

writer should act in the same way in respect to both his sources (in both cases, that is, condensing by omitting the agent) than that two writers (Mark and Luke) should independently pursue the same course toward different narratives in the one source (Matt.). And this probability becomes still greater when we take into account the whole list of sections in which the narrative of Matt. is shorter than that of Mark, on the one hand, or of Luke, on the other. Economy of hypothesis, and the principle that that form of narrative is secondary which can be accounted for by the observed tendency of the writer, are decidedly in favor of attributing to Matt. condensation of both his sources, rather than reversing it and attributing to both Mark and Luke expansion. And this again is still further strengthened by observing that Luke's tendency, as seen in narratives common to Mark and Luke, is to condensation (less marked than in the case of Matt.) rather than to expansion.

The second characteristic of Matt. as compared with Mark and Luke has already been referred to, viz., his tendency not only to combine discourse material together into large discourses, but to include in narrative sections, parallel to Mark or Luke, sayings of Jesus not found in the parallel accounts, sometimes with brief narrative introductions also peculiar to him. Instances of this (most of which have already been mentioned) may be seen in 3:14, 15; 8:11, 12; 9:13a; 11:12–15, 28–30; 12:5–7, 11, 12a, 33–37; 15:12–14, 23, 24; 16:17–19; 19:10–12, 28; 20:1–16; 21:14–16, 28–32, 43; 22:1–14. Of these passages, eighteen in number, nine are in the midst of narratives given by all three evangelists. That neither Mark nor Luke contains them points, of course, in the direction of the explanation of them as additions by Matt. rather than as omissions by Mark and Luke from sources possessed by them. The other nine cases, though not directly supporting this view, are in no way opposed to it.

It remains to consider briefly those elements of Matthew and Luke that have not been discussed.

17. Matt. has a comparatively small number of narrative passages, besides those in the infancy period, which are not paralleled in either of the other gospels. Some of them are brief complete narratives, others add details to narratives found in one or both of the other gospels. The list is as follows: removal to Capernaum, 4:13;[26] Peter's attempt to walk on the water, 14:28–31; details of the transfiguration, 17:6, 7; the repentance and death of Judas, 27:3–10; Pilate's washing of his hands, 27:24, 25; the resurrection of the saints, 27:51b–53; the sealing of the tomb, 27:62–66; the report of the watch, 28:11–15.

To these it might seem necessary to add the introduction to the sermon on the mount, 4:23–25; the introduction to the missionary discourse, 9:35–37; and the healing of two blind men and the dumb demoniac, 9:27–34. But upon examination the first two of these passages are found to bear all the marks of being conflations, the first of material derived from different passages of Mark, the second of material

[26] Perhaps derived from Mark 1:21; 2:1.

derived from Mark and the Perean section of Luke. Thus Matt. 4:23–25 is substantially paralleled in Mark 1:39, 28, 32–34; 3:7, 8; and Matt. 9:35–37 in Mark 6:6, 12, 13, 34. Such conflation points to the derivative character of this gospel. The expression διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν, occurring in both these summaries, is apparently the writer's general phrase to describe the work of Jesus, its language being his own, the idea being furnished by the passages above referred to as his sources. It is not impossible that in the light of these passages 15:30, 31 should be regarded simply as a summary composed by the evangelist. As respects the two narratives composing 9:27–34, these are probably to be regarded as duplicates of the accounts appearing in 12:22 ff., and 20:29–34.

The editorial remarks of the first evangelist, including his references to the fulfilment of prophecy, call for no comment.

18. Of the passages peculiar to Luke all have already been considered except those that are found in the passion and resurrection history. It will suffice simply to point out that in this portion of Luke there are the following passages of which there are no parallels in the other gospels:

Additions to the story of the triumphal entry:	19:37, 39–44;
Additions to the story of the last supper:	22:15–17, 24–30;
Additions to Christ's last conversation with the disciples:	22:31–33, 35–38;
Gethsemane, mainly an independent account: most of	22:39–46;
Variant account of the condemnation of Jesus by the Jews:	22:66, 67;
Additions to the story of the trial before Pilate:	23:2, 4–16;
Additional incidents of the crucifixion:	23:27–32, 36, 37, 39–43;
Independent story of the resurrection morning:	24:3–5a, 6b, 7–11;
Walk to Emmaus:	24:13–35;
Appearance in Jerusalem:	24:36–43;
Ascension:	24:44–53.

It is a very notable fact that, while Matt. and Luke each have in their Jerusalem period considerable material not found in Mark, they have no such material in common.[27] This fact clearly indicates that the sources additional to Mark from which Matt. and Luke drew were not, as in the John the Baptist period and the Galilean ministry, the same, but quite distinct.

The preface and other editorial remarks of Luke require no special discussion.

If now we re-enumerate the separate sources or strata of material which we have

[27] To this statement there are but two exceptions, these perhaps only apparently so. Matt. 21:44 is clearly parallel to Luke 20:18. There is, however, sufficient documentary evidence for the omission of the verse in Matt. (D. 33, a, b, e, ff. [1 2] Or. omit; ℵBCXZΔΠ unc [10] etc. include it), to lead Tischendorf, in view of it and the internal evidence furnished by the evident appearance of harmonistic corruption, to omit the verse, and Treg. and WH. to bracket it. Weiss argues for its genuineness. Luke 22:30 is parallel to Matt. 19:28, the usual relation being in this case reversed, a passage which Matt. has in the Perean period being found in Luke's passion week. Were there many such instances, they would be fatal to some of the positions maintained in this paper. But the comparison of these verses with their respective contexts renders it probable that in this case as in several others (*cf.* Mark 3:22 ff. with Luke 11:15 ff.; and Mark 4:30–32 with Luke 13:18, 19; Mark 9:42 with Luke 17:2; and Mark 12:39 with Luke 11:43); substantially the same saying of Jesus was contained in two independent documents.

seemed to discover lying behind Matt. and Luke—that is, of one or both of them—and for convenience of reference indicate again the contents of each, we have the following list:

MAJOR SOURCES

1. The gospel of Mark, substantially as we now possess it.

2. The special Matthean source, probably the Logia of Matthew spoken of by Papias, consisting of substantially the following portions of Matt.: 3:14, 15; 5:4, 7–10, 13a, 14, 16, 17, 19–24, 27, 28, 31, 33–39a, 41, 43; 6:1–7, 10b, 13b, 15, 16–18, 34; 7:6, 12b, 15, 22; 9:13a; 10:5, 6, 8b, 23, 25b, 36, 41; 11:28–30; 12:5–7, 11, 12a, 34; 13:14, 15, 24–30, 35–53; 15:12–14, 23, 24; 16:17–19; 17:24–27; 18:4, 10, 14, 16–20, 23–34; 19:10–12, 28; 20:1–15; 21:14–16, 28–32, 43; 22:1–14; 23:2, 3, 5, 7b–10, 15–22, 24, 28, 32; 24:10–12, 30a; 25:1–11a, 13, 14–46; 26:52, 53 (*M*).[28]

3. The Perean document, consisting of Luke 9:57—18:14; 19:1–28, portions of it being contained also in the record of the Galilean ministry and passion week of Matt. (*P*).

4. The Galilean document found in Luke 3:7–15, 17, 18; 4:2b–13 [14, 15], 16–30; 5:1–11; 6:20–49; 7:1—8:3 (*G*).

MINOR SOURCES

5. The infancy story of Matt.—Matt., chaps. 1, 2.

6. The infancy story of Luke—Luke, chaps. 1, 2 (except 1:1–4).

7. Other narratives peculiar to Matt.

8. The narratives peculiar to Luke, and not included in 2, 3, or 6, viz., his additions to Mark's narrative of the passion week and resurrection story.

All the major sources were beyond doubt written. Of the minor sources, 6 gives internal evidence, which it is not necessary to state here at length, of having existed in writing before being taken up into the gospel. The other minor sources may perhaps not have been reduced to writing before their incorporation in our gospels.

It is a legitimate question, and one that demands consideration, whether each of the eight sources is really distinct, or whether two or more may not have been parts of one document. From this discussion Mark is, of course, excluded by the fact that we actually possess it and know its extent. That *G* and *P* were parts of one is an obvious suggestion, but one which is not sustained by the evidence. Against it is the fact that Matt. has treated these two sources so differently, using *G* with only that degree of freedom with which he also used Mark, *i. e.*, condensing accounts, and transposing events to some extent within the same general period, yet not transgressing the limits of the period, but employing *P* almost exclusively as a source from which to draw discourse material to enrich the great discourses, and always placing this material both in a different connection and in a different period from that in which Luke has given it

[28] On purely internal grounds one would perhaps refer 16:17–19; 17:24–27; 19:28; 22:7; 26:52, 53 to the minor source 7; but for such reference there is no objective ground.

to us. This renders it probable that the documents were not one, but two; *G* having some marks by which to indicate to what period its events belonged, *P* being without such marks. The name Perean therefore is correct only as a term of convenience derived from the position in which the document as we have it stands in Luke.

Against the combination of *P* and *M* are several reasons: (a) It would be difficult, not to say impossible, to explain why Luke should have omitted so large a part of that which the document must in that case have contained, viz., the whole of that discourse material which is peculiar to Matt. and which on this hypothesis was contained in a document which Luke had in his hands. For the combined document must have been either *P* with *M* scattered through it, or *P* with *M* prefixed or added to it. In the former case, Luke must simply have torn out all these sections; in the latter case, the document would have been *M* + *P* or *P* + *M*, and Luke must have cut off *M*; in either case with no motive that can be discovered. For Matthew's omissions from *P* there is a natural explanation, in that his interest was in discourse material, and that, having taken Mark as his basal narrative, he used both *M* and *P* to build up the discourses, the starting-point of which he found in Mark or in *G*. But for Luke's omission of the whole of the *M* material there is no explanation consistent with his general method of employing his sources. (b) Since *P* and *M* were *ex hypothesi* one, Luke must have had both in one, and this supposition deprives us of that explanation of the traditional name of our first gospel which is furnished by the supposition that they were separate and that *M* was taken up into the first gospel only. (c) *M* alone corresponds much better to the description given by Papias of the (original) gospel of Matt. than does the supposed combination of *M* and *P*. (d) It is difficult on this hypothesis to explain the way in which Matt. has built up his version of the sermon on the mount. If he possessed *G* and another source which combined *P* and *M*, two methods of procedure are possible. First, *G* may have contained the discourse as we now have it in Luke 6:20–49; on the basis of this, Matt. may have built up that discourse which we find in Matt., chaps. 5–7, when we subtract the passages found in Luke's Perean section and in Mark, and then have added this latter material. In that case the same writer has from the same sources first constructed an orderly, well-planned discourse, and then has marred its structure by additions from the same source. Secondly, he may have found in his Perean-Matthean document a discourse like that just supposed, Matt., chaps. 5–7, minus the material paralleled in Luke's Perean portion and in Mark. In this case he must have marred the unity of this discourse by transferring to it material from another part of the same document. This is not impossible but it is distinctly more complicated and less probable than that the partially incongruous material came from different sources.

The hypothesis that *G* and *M* were in reality one is open to substantially the same objections as those just stated against the view of the unity of *P* and *M*. It fails to account for Luke's omission of all that large portion of the combined document which is peculiar to Matt.; it fails to account for the name of the first gospel; it is not

accordant with the testimony of Papias, and it complicates the explanation of the sermon on the mount as found in Matt. This fourth objection assumes now, however, a slightly different form. The hypothesis that *G* and *M* were one involves the supposition either that this document contained two versions of the sermon on the mount, which is certainly improbable, or that it contained a version on which both the existing versions were based, modified in Matthew's case, of course, in part by the addition of material from the Perean document, and in part from Mark. We have already had occasion to observe the improbability of this hypothesis.

A further reason might perhaps be urged against the combination of *G* and *P*, but clearly holds against the union of *G* and *M*, viz., the clear difference of literary character between the two elements. *G* is chiefly made up of narratives, distinguished for their vividness and fulness of detail. *M* is composed of sayings of Jesus without narrative introduction, so far as the use of them in Matt. indicates, many of them aphoristic and poetic in form. It is certainly more probable that material so different in character and so differently treated by the evangelists constituted separate documents than that they were parts of one and the same document.

On the whole, therefore, the hypothesis of the separateness of these three documents is more probable than that any two of them were constituent parts of a single document.

Respecting possible combination of the minor sources with one another, or with any of the major sources, a few remarks will suffice.

The combination of the infancy narrative of Matt. or of the other narratives peculiar to him with any source used by Luke is rendered improbable, especially as respects the infancy period and the passion week and the resurrection story, by the absence of any influence of these portions of Matthew's sources upon Luke. The possibility of simple non-use can never be disproved, but all the evidence is against it.

For like reasons the combination of Luke's narrative of the infancy, or of his special narratives of the passion week and the resurrection story, with any source used by Matt., is improbable.

A combination of the infancy narrative of Matt. with the narratives peculiar to him in other parts of the gospel can neither be proved nor disproved. Considerations of style and purpose are somewhat against it.

A combination of Luke's infancy narrative with his special material at the end of the gospel is practically excluded by the long interval between them and the marked difference in style.

The most serious question is whether the narratives peculiar to Matt. are from the same source as the discourse material peculiar to him. Are *M* and the minor sources 5 and 7 parts of the same source? Objective tests fail. All three groups of material are alike in that they are absent from Mark and Luke. The argument from style would certainly favor diversity of source, so far at least as to distinguish the dis-

course material from the narrative material. If to these be added the wide difference in intrinsic character and spirit between the discourses and the narratives, the former generally conceded to constitute probably the oldest stratum of evangelic material, the latter bearing marks of being the very latest, the infancy story having exerted no influence on the Pauline literature, or indeed on any extant document that can be dated earlier than the gospels of Matt. and Luke themselves, and such narratives as the resurrection of the saints (27:52–53)[29] strongly suggesting remoteness from the events, there can scarcely remain room to doubt that we have in the discourses (*M*) a document distinct from the narratives peculiar to Matt. and of older date than these.

The result, therefore, of the attempt to combine the different sources enumerated on p. 49 is negative. The preponderance of probability is on the side of leaving the list as it was first given, and of resolving the x of our hypothesis Y (p. 34) into seven elements.

But it must now be observed that the facts on the basis of which we have reached this result are of value also for the strengthening of the argument by which we excluded other hypotheses.

Thus the facts stated under 11 and 18, by showing the different relation of Matt. to different portions of Luke, and the mutual exclusiveness of their additions to Mark in the latter part of the gospel, are against any hypothesis that makes Matt. dependent on Luke as it now stands; *i. e.*, against B, E, I, J, R, S, T, U. The facts stated under 11, 13, 14, and 18 make against any hypothesis which makes Luke dependent on Matt. and in favor of the dependence of Matt. on Mark and some source of Luke; *i. e.*, against A, C, G, K, O, P, Q, V. The facts stated under 11, 13, 14, and 18 are strongly against N. The complexity and at the same time uniformity of the relations of the several gospels could never be explained by assuming a single document as their common source; and if x be resolved into several elements, the theory is no longer the same. These facts are for the same reason opposed to M; and if x be resolved into elements, as has, *e. g.*, been done by Arthur Wright, then, in view of the close resemblances of the gospels to one another both in order of events and in language, each of the elements of x becomes in effect a document, only *ex hypothesi* committed to memory instead of written down. The facts stated under 15 somewhat strengthen the argument in favor of making Mark a source of Luke, and those under 16 are in favor of making Mark a source of Matt.; *i. e.*, against C, D, E, F, G, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, and in favor of H; or, since that has been shown to be inadequate, in favor of Y.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to which our whole study has led may then be summarized as follows:

1. Our Mark, or a document in large part identical with it, was employed as a source of both our first and third gospels.

[29] Concerning Matt. 17:24–27 and other narratives introducing sayings of Jesus, see note 28.

2. Matt. and Luke also possessed in common a document which contained substantially the material standing in Luke 3:7–15, 17, 18; 4:2b–13 [14, 15], 16–30; 5:1–11; 6:20–49; 7:1—8:3; herein referred to as the Galilean document (*G*).

3. Matt. and Luke also had a document in whole or in part identical with Luke 9:51—18:14 and 19:1–28, which, however, they used in very different ways; herein referred to as the Perean document (*P*).

4. Matt. also had a document not employed by Luke, chiefly or wholly made up of discourse material. This is presumably the Logia of Matt. spoken of by Papias (*M*).

5. Additional minor sources there must also have been, the first and third evangelists having in the main different ones, as is illustrated in the case of the infancy narratives and the almost wholly independent additions to Mark's account in the passion and resurrection history.

6. Thus the sources of Matt. are the Matthean Logia, Mark, the Galilean document, and the Perean document, besides certain minor sources. In his employment of these sources the first evangelist gave the chief place to Mark and the Matthean Logia, employing the Galilean document for illustrative purposes, and the Perean document for enrichment of the discourses the basis of which was found in the Logia or in Mark.

7. Luke has the same chief sources as Matt., with the exception of the Matthean Logia. In his use of them he made Mark the basis, interpolated material from the Galilean document, omitting Mark's similar narratives when they seemed to him less full and vivid; added the Perean document in two solid sections, making the junction with Mark in such way that the arrival at Jericho indicated in this document should synchronize with that recorded by Mark.

Each of the two later evangelists pursued a consistent and easily intelligible method in the use of the sources, but each his own method.

8. The agreements of Matt. and Luke against Mark in triple narrative which are scattered through the gospels are an unexplained remainder. To make them determinative for the whole theory is, however, to set the pyramid on its apex. The line between editorial revision and scribal corruption was probably not so sharply drawn in fact as our rigid discrimination between higher and lower criticism would suggest. There are many indications that the one class of phenomena shade into the other. This unexplained remainder probably owes its origin to causes that belong to the border line between editorial revision and scribal corruption, or else to some slight influence of one of these gospels in its final form on the mind of the writer of the other.

9. The question of sources behind the above enumerated sources, in particular the sources behind Mark and the Perean document, remains to be investigated. For lack of documents to compare, the methods by which this problem must be solved must be to a considerable extent different from those by which the results of this paper have been reached.

APPENDIX

TABLE EXHIBITING THE PARALLELISM OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS[30]

The following table is intended to show the parallelism of the synoptic gospels as fully as can be done without actually printing the text. It aims to do this with the least possible disarrangement of the order of the material as it stands in the gospels. The principles on which it is constructed are the following:

1. A distinction is made between parallel sections and parallel passages in non-parallel sections.

Parallel sections are those which report what is shown, either by position and similarity of content, or by close literary similarity of component material, to be kindred reports of the same event or discourse. Discourses basally the same and similarly located are treated as parallel, however different in extent. On the other hand, narratives that are at the same time differently located and so different in form or content as to indicate that they are of diverse literary origin are not treated as constituting parallel sections, even though the general similarity of the accounts renders it probable that the events recorded are really the same. Thus Luke 4:16–30 is distinguished from Mark 6:1–6, and Luke 11:14–36 from Mark 3:22–30, because in each case what were evidently in the sources two different accounts are by the different evangelists differently located. On the other hand, Matt. 12:22–45 and Mark 3:22–30 are treated as parallel sections, because the two are basally the same, and similarly treated; and Matt. 8:19–22 and Luke 9:57–60 are identified because though differently placed the two accounts are practically identical.

Parallel passages are those which express the same thought. As here employed, the term covers passages resembling one another in all degrees from identity of thought and words to similarity of thought with almost entire dissimilarity of language.

2. The length of the sections has been determined by the unity of the event or discourse. In this matter there is, of course, room for difference of judgment.

3. In order of sections Mark has been followed for all sections that this gospel contains. This procedure seems required by the fact that the other two gospels, each agreeing with Mark in a large majority of instances and each sometimes departing from his order, never agree against him in such departure.

4. Sections standing in Luke only and between sections paralleled in Mark, are placed in the position assigned them by Luke.

5. Sections standing in Matt. only, and between sections paralleled in Mark, are placed in the position assigned them by Matt.

6. Sections common to Matt. and Luke and not found in Mark are placed in the position given them by Luke, except in the case of the genealogies, which are put in the Matt. position. This general preference of Luke over Matt. is suggested by the fact that Luke evidently in general follows his sources in the matter of position, while Matt. as evidently rearranges under the influence of topical considerations.

7. When, as in the case of the infancy narratives, there are no parallel sections by which to determine the relative position of sections drawn from different gospels, the sections are located according to such internal indications of relation as the narratives furnish, the order of each evangelist being in all cases retained. For the purposes of this table the order of such sections is a matter of little importance.

[30] For the privilege of using in the present table certain facts and phraseology already employed in the tables in STEVENS AND BURTON'S *Harmony of the Gospels* I desire to express my thanks to my colleague, Professor William Arnold Stevens, D.D., of the Rochester Theological Seminary, and to our publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York. I have also to express my thanks to my colleague, Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, and to my friend, Mr. John W. Bailey, Ph.D., for valuable assistance in the preparation and verification of this table and of other statistical matter in the body of the essay.

8. In the arrangement of the material within the section the same general principles have been followed. But in the story of the temptation the order of Matt. has been preferred to that of Luke. In the passion week Luke has been conformed to the order of Matt. and Mark, in accordance with the principle stated in 3.

9. To many portions of the sections arranged on these principles there are parallel passages in other sections, sometimes in the same gospel, more frequently in another gospel. Instead of transposing all such passages from the position given them by the evangelist, in the present table each is retained in the section in which it is included by the evangelist reporting it, and the fact that it has parallels elsewhere is indicated in the columns headed "Parallel Passages in Non-Parallel Sections." Over against each such passage, verse, or portion of a verse, of which there are in non-parallel sections parallels in thought or language exceeding a few words or brief phrase, there are placed in the right-hand columns references to the passages containing such parallels.

10. The full extent of each section is indicated by the figures in bold-face type. Whenever the two or more accounts differ materially in content, or when a portion of the section is paralleled in a non-parallel section, the passages cited in bold-face type are broken into parts indicated by the figures in light-face type, similar passages being placed opposite each other, passages peculiar to any one of the accounts standing without opposite references.

That the exhibit thus made of passages peculiar to each gospel, common to all three, or to any two of them, does not in all details correspond with the statistical statements made under Part II of the essay is due to several facts: (*a*) The table shows section divisions (printed in the table in bold-face type) which the statistics of the essay ignore. (*b*) The table cannot distinguish, as the essay does, between agreements *en bloc* and agreements of detail occurring in threefold or twofold matter. (*c*) The table cannot well exhibit peculiarities or agreements, even if important, which extend only to a very few words, or which are intimately entangled in the text of the passage. In general the table in its bold-face type exhibits the facts less minutely than the statistics of the essay, in its light-face type more minutely than the *en bloc* classifications of the essay, and less minutely than the statements of the essay respecting verbal agreement or peculiarities occuring in threefold matter.

PART I. THE INFANCY NARRATIVES

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
1. Luke's preface	.....	.....	**1:1-4**			
2. The genealogies	**1:1-17** 1:1		**3:23*b*-38**			
	.....	.....	3:34*b*-38			
	1:2-6*a*	.....	3:31*b*-34*a*			
	1:6*b*-16					
	.....	.....	3:23*b*-31*a*			
	1:17					
3. Birth of John promised	.....	.....	**1:5-25**			
4. Annunciation to Mary	.....	.....	**1:26-38**[1]			
5. Annunciation to Joseph	**1:18-25**[2]					
6. Mary's visit to Elizabeth	.....	.....	**1:39-56**			
7. Birth of John the Baptist	.....	.....	**1:57-80**			
8. Birth of Jesus	.....	.....	**2:1-7**			
9. The angels and the shepherds	.....	.....	**2:8-20**			
10. The circumcision	.....	.....	**2:21**			
11. The presentation in the Temple	.....	.....	**2:22 39**			
12. Wise men from the East	**2:1-12**					
13. Flight into Egypt	**2:13-23**					
14. Childhood at Nazareth	.....	.....	**2:40**			
15. Visit to Jerusalem	.....	.....	**2:41-50**			
16. Eighteen yrs. at Nazareth	.....	.....	**2:51, 52**			

[1] With Luke 1:31 *cf.* Matt. 1:21.

[2] With Matt. 1:21 *cf.* Luke 1:31. With Matt. 1:25*a* *cf.* Luke 2:7*a*. With Matt. 1:25*b* *cf.* Luke 2:21.

PART II. THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
17. Ministry of the Baptist...	**3:1-12**	**1:1-8**	**3:1-20**			
	.....	1:1				
	.....	.....	3:1-2*a*			
	3:1-3	1:2, 3	3:2*b*, 4			
	.....	.....	3:5, 6			
	3:4	1:4	3:3			
	3:5, 6	1:5, 6				
	3:7-10	.....	3:7-9			
	.....	.....	3:10-15			
	3:11	1:7, 8	3:16			
	3:12	.....	3:17			
	.....	.....	3:18-20	14:3-5	6:17, 18	
18. Baptism of Jesus.....	**3:13-17**	**1:9-11**	**3:21, 22**			
	3:13	1:9				
	3:14, 15					
	3:16, 17	1:10, 11	3:21, 22			
19. The temptation.....	**4:1-11**	**1:12, 13**	**4:1-13**			
	4:1, 2	1:12, 13*a*	4:1, 2			
	.....	1:13*b*				
	4:3, 4	.....	4:3, 4			
	4:8-10	.....	4:5-8			
	4:5-7	.....	4:9-12			
	4:11	1:13*c*	4:13			

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
20. Departure to Galilee.....	**4:12-17**	**1:14, 15**	**4:14, 15**			
	4:12	1:14*a*	4:14*a*			
	4:13-16					
	4:17	1:14*b*, 15[3]				
	.....	.....	4:14*b*, 15			
21. Rejection at Nazareth (Luke)	.....	.....	**4:16-30**			
	.....	.....	4:16*a*	13:54*a*	6:1*a*	
	.....	.....	4:16*b*	13:54*b*	6:2*a*	
	.....	.....	4:17-21			
	.....	.....	4:22*a*	13:54*c*	6:2*b*	
	.....	.....	4:22*b*	13:55*a*	6:3*a*	
	.....	.....	4:23			
	.....	.....	4:24	13:57*b*	6:4	
	.....	.....	4:25-30			
22. Call of the four (Matt.-Mark)	**4:18 22**	**1:16-20**				
	4:18	1:16	.....	.....	.....	*Cf.* 5:2
	4:19, 20	1:17, 18	.....	.....	.....	5:10*b*, 11
	4:21, 22	1:19, 20				
23. A day in Capernaum.....	**8:14-17**	**1:21-34**	**4:31-41**			
	.....	1:21	4:31			
	.....	1:22	4:32	7:28*b*, 29		
	.....	1:23-28	4:33-37			
	8:14*a*	1:29*a*	4:38*a*			
	.....	1:29*b*				
	8:14*b*, 15	1:30, 31	4:38*b*, 39			
	8:16	1:32	4:40*a*			
	.....	1:33				
	.....	.....	4:40*b*			
	8:16*b*	1:34*a*	4:40*c*, 41*a*			
	.....	.....	4:41*b*	.....	3:11	
	.....	1:34*b*	4:41*c*			
	8:17					
24. A preaching tour in Galilee.....	**4:23-25**	**1:35-39**	**4:42-44**			
	.....	1:35-38	4:42, 43			
	4:23*a*	1:39	4:44			

[3] Mark 1:14*b*, 15 contains 10 words not paralleled in Matt. or Luke, but too intricately combined with paralleled portions to be indicated in this table.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
A preaching tour in Galilee—*Continued*	4:23*b*	.....	.....	9:35*b*		
	4:24, 25	.....	.....	.....	1:28;32-34; 3:7, 8	
25. Call of the four (Luke)	.....	.....	**5:1-11**			
	.....	.....	5:1			
	.....	.....	5:2	*Cf.* 4:18	*Cf.* 1:16	
	.....	.....	5:3-10*a*			
	.....	.....	5:10*b*, 11	4:19, 20	1:17, 18	
26. Healing of a leper	**3:1-4**	**1:40-45**	**5:12-16**			
	8:1					
	8:2-4	1:40-44	5:12-14			
	.....	1:45	5:15, 16			
27. Healing of a paralytic	**9:1-8**	**2:1-12**	**5:17-26**			
	9:1	2:1				
	.....	2:2	5:17*a*			
	.....	.....	5:17*b*			
	9:2*a*	2:3	5:18*a*			
	.....	2:4	5:18*b*, 19			
	9:2*b*, 3	2:5-7*a*	5:20, 21*a*			
	.....	2:7*b*	5:21*b*			
	9:4-8	2:8-12	5:22-26			
28. Call of Levi	**9:9-13**	**2:13-17**	**5:27-32**			
	.....	2:13*a*	5:27*a*			
	.....	2:13*b*				
	9:9-13	2:14-17	5:27*b*-32			
29. Question about fasting	**9:14-17**	**2:18-22**	**5:33-39**			
	9:14, 15	2:18, 19*a*	5:33, 34			
	.....	2:19*b*				
	9:16, 17*a*	2:20-22*a*	5:33-37			
	9:17*b*	(2:22*b*)	5:38			
	.....	.....	5:39			
30. Plucking grain on a Sabbath	**12:1-8**	**2:23-28**	**6:1-5**			
	12:1-4	2:23-26	6:1-4			
	12:5-7					
	.....	2:27				
	12:8	2:28	6:5			
31. The withered hand	**12:9-14**	**3:1-6**	**6:6-11**			
	12:9, 10	3:1, 2	6:6, 7			
	.....	.....	6:8*a*			
	.....	3:3	6:8*b*			
	12:11	.....	.....	.....	.....	14:5
	12:12*a*					
	12:12*b*	3:4*a*	6:9*a*	.....	.....	14:3*b*
	.....	3:4*b*, 5*a*	6:9*b*, 10*a*			
	.....	3:5*b*				
	12:13, 14	3:5*c*, 6	6:10*b*, 11			
32. The fame of Jesus	**12:15-21**	**3:7-12**	**6:17-19**			
	12:15*a*	3:7	6:17*a*			
	.....	3:8	6:17*b*			
	.....	3:9				
	12:15*b*	3:10, 11*a*	6:18, 19			
	.....	3:11*b*				
	12:16	3:12				
	12:17-21					
33. The choosing of the Twelve	.....	**3:13-19**	**6:12-16**			
	.....	3:13*a*	6:12*a*			
	.....	.....	6:12*b*			
	.....	3:13*b*, 14*a*	6:13			
	.....	3:14*b*, 15				
	.....	3:16-19	6:14-16	10:2-4		
34. Sermon on the mount	**5:1—7:29**	.....	**6:20-49**			
	5:1, 2	.....	6:20*a*			
	5:3	.....	6:20*b*			
	5:4					
	5:5, 6	.....	6:21			
	5:7-10					
	5:11, 12	.....	6:22, 23			
	.....	.....	6:24-26			
	5:13*a*					
	5:13*b*	.....	.....	.....	9:50*b*	14:34*b*
	5:13*c*	.....	.....	.....	.....	14:35*a*
	5:14					
	5:15	.....	.....	.....	4:21	11:33, *cf.* 8:16
	5:16					

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Sermon on the mount—*Continued*	5:17					
	5:18	.....	.....	.....	.....	16:17
	5:19, 20					
	5:21-24					
	5:25, 26	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:58, 59
	5:27, 28					
	5:29	.....	.....	18:9	9:47	
	5:30	.....	.....	18:8	9:43	
	5:31					
	5:32	.....	.....	19:9	10:11	16:18
	5:33-37					
	5:38, 39*a*					
	5:39*b*, 40	.....	6:29			
	5:41					
	5:42	.....	6:30			
	5:43					
	5:44*a*	.....	6:27*a*			
	.....	.....	6:27*b*, 28*a*			
	5:44*b*	.....	6:28*b*			
	5:45	.....	6:35*b*			
	5:46, 47	.....	6:32-34			
	(*cf.* 5:44)	.....	6:35*a* (*cf.* 27)			
	5:48	.....	6:36			
	6:1-7					
	6:8 (*cf.* 32)	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:30
	6:9, 10*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:2
	6:10*b*					
	6:11-13*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:3, 4
	6:13*b*					
	6:14					
	6:15	.....	.....	18:35	} 11:25	
	6:16-18					
	6:19-21	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:33, 34
	6:22, 23	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:34, 35
	6:24	.....	.....	.....	.....	16:13
	6:25-31	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:22-29
	6:32 (*cf.* 8)	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:30
	6:33	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:31
	6:34					
	7:1, 2*a*	.....	6:37			
	.....	.....	6:38*a*			
	7:2*b*	.....	6:38*b*	.....	4:24*b*	
	.....	.....	6:39	15:14*b*		
	.....	.....	6:40	10:24, 25*a*		
	7:3-5	.....	6:41, 42			
	7:6					
	7:7-10	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:9-11
	7:11	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:13
	7:12*a*	.....	6:31			
	7:12*b*	.....	.....	22:40		
	7:13, 14	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:24
	7:15					
	7:16-18	.....	6:43, 44	12:33		
	7:19	.....	.....	3:10*b*	.....	3:9*b*
	7:20 (=16*a*)	.....	(=6:44*a*)	(=12:33*b*)		
	.....	.....	6:45	12:34*b*, 35		
	7:21	.....	6:46			
	7:22					
	7:23	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:27
	7:24-27	.....	6:47-49			
	7:28*a*	.....	(*cf.* 7:1*a*)			
	7:28*b*, 29	.....	.....	.....	1:22	
35. The centurion's servant...	**8:5 13**	.....	**7:1-10**			
	8:5	.....	7:1			
	8:6 (condensed)	.....	7:2, 3			
	.....	.....	7:4, 5			
	8:7	.....	7:6*a*			
	8:8*a*	.....	7:6*b*			
	.....	.....	7:7*a*			
	8:8*b*-10	.....	7:7*b*-9			
	8:11	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:29
	8:12*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:28*b*
				{ 13:42 13:50 22:13*b* 24:51 25:30	.....	13:28*a*

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
The centurion's son—*Continued*	8:13*a*	.....	7:10			
	8:13*b*	.....	**7:11-17**			
36. Raising of the widow's son	.....	.....	**7:18-35**			
37. Message from John the Baptist	**11:2-30**	.....	7:18, 19			
	11:2, 3	.....	7:20, 21			
	.....	.....	7:22, 23			
	11:4-6	.....	7:24-28			
	11:7-11	.....	7:29, 30	*cf.* 21:31*b*, 32		
	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	16:16
	11:12, 13					
	11:14					
	11:15	.....	.....	{ 13:9	4:9	8:8*b*
				} 13:43*b*	4:23	14:35*b*
	11:16-19	.....	7:31-35			
	11:20					
	11:21-23*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	15:13-15
	11:23*b*					
	11:24	.....	.....	10:15	.....	10:12
	11:25, 26	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:21
	11:27*a*	.....	.....	28:18*b*	.....	10:22*a*
	11:27*b*	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:22*b*
	11:28-30					
38. Anointing of Jesus (Luke)	.....	.....	**7:36-50**			
39. A preaching tour, women accompanying	.....	.....	**8:1-3**			
40. Charges of casting out demons by Beelzebul	{ **9:32-34**					
	} **12:22-45**	**3:20-30**				
	.....	3:20, 21				
	{ 9:32, 33*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:14
	} 12:22, 23*a*					
	9:33*b*					
	12:23*b*					
	{ 9:34	3:22	.....	.....	.....	11:15
	} 12:24					
	12:25*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:17*a*
	.....	3:23*a*				
	12:25*b*, 26	3:23*b*-26	.....	.....	.....	11:17*b*, 18
	12:27, 28	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:19, 20
	12:29	3:27	.....	.....	.....	11:21, 22[4]
	12:30	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:23
	12:31, 32	3:28, 29	.....	.....	.....	12:10
	.....	3:30				
	12:33	.....	.....	7:16-18, 20	.....	6:43, 44
	12:34*a*	.....	.....	3:7*b*	.....	3:7*b*
	12:34*b*					
	12:34*c*, 35[5]	.....	.....	.....	.....	6:45[5]
	12:36, 37					
	12:38	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:16
	12:39*a*	.....	.....	16:4*a*	8:12	11:29*a*
	12:39*b*	.....	.....	16:4*b*	.....	11:29*b*
	12:40	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:30[6]
	12:41	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:32
	12:42	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:31
	12:43-45*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:24-26
	12:45*b*					
41. The kindred of Jesus	**12:46-50**	**3:31-35**	**8:19-21**			
	12:46-48*a*	3:31-33*a*	8:19-21*a*			
	12:48*b*, 49	3:33*b*, 34				
	12:50	3:35	8:21*b*			
42. Parables by the sea	**13:1-53**	**4:1-34**	**8:4-18**			
	13:1, 2	4:1				
	.....	.....	8:4*a*			
	13:3*a*	4:2	8:4*b*			
	13:3*b*-8	4:3-8	8:5-8*a*			
	13:9 (=13:43*b*)	4:9 (=4:23)	8:8*b*	11:15	.....	14:35*b*
	13:10, 11	4:10, 11	8:9, 10*a*			
	13:13	4:12*a*	8:10*b*			
	cf. 13:15	4:12*b*				
	13:14, 15					

[4] The verbal resemblance here is between Matt. and Mark only; Luke though parallel in thought is not so in language.

[5] In transposed order: Matt. 12:34*c* = Luke 6:45*b*; Matt. 12:35 = Luke 6:45*a*.

[6] But Matt. contains reference to the three days and nights, not found in Luke.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Parables by the sea—*Continued*	13:16, 17	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:23, 24
	13:18–21*a*	4:13–17*a*	8:11–13			
	13:21*b*	4:17*b*				
	13:22, 23	4:18–20	8:14, 15			
	.....	4:21	8:16	5:15	.....	11:33
	.....	4:22	8:17	10:26	.....	12:2
	.....	4:23 (see 4:9)				
	.....	4:24*a*	8:18*a*			
	.....	4:24*b*	.....	7:2*b*	.....	6:38*b*
	13:12	4:25	8:18*b*	25:29	.....	19:26
	.....	4:26–29				
	13:24–30					
	13:31, 32	4:30–32[7]	.....	.....	.....	13:18, 19[7]
	13:33	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:20, 21
	13:34	4:33, 34				
	13:35–41					
	13:42 (=13:50)	.....	.....	8:12 22:13 24:51 25:30	.....	13:28
	13:43*a*					
	13:43*b*(=13:9)					
	13:44–49					
	13:50(=13:42)					
	13:51–53					
43. The stilling of the tempest	**8:18, 23–27**	**4:35–41**	**8:22–25**			
	8:18, 23	4:35, 36*a*	8:22			
	.....	4:36*b*				
	8:24	4:37	8:23			
	.....	4:38*a*				
	8:25–27	4:38*b*–41	8:24, 25			
44. The Gerasene demoniac	**8:28–34**	**5:1–20**	**8:26–39**			
	8:28	5:1–3*a*	8:26, 27			
	.....	5:3*b*–5	8:29*b*			
	.....	5:6	8:28*a*			
	8:29	5:7	8:28*b*			
	.....	5:8	8:29*a*			
	.....	5:9, 10	8:30, 31			
	8:30–34*a*	5:11–15*a*	8:32–35*a*			
	.....	5:15*b*, 16	8:35*b*, 36			
	8:35*b*	5:17	8:37*a*			
	.....	5:18–20	8:37*b*–39			
45. The daughter of Jairus	**9:18–26**	**5:21–43**	**8:40–56**			
	.....	5:21	8:40			
	9:18–20*a*	5:22–25	8:41–43*a*			
	.....	5:26*a*	8:43*b*			
	.....	5:26*b*, 27*a*				
	9:20*b*	5:27*b*	8:44*a*			
	9:21	5:28				
	.....	5:29–33	8:44*b*–47			
	9:22	5:34	8:48			
	.....	5:35–37	8:49–51			
	9:23–25	5:38–42*a*	8:52–54			
	.....	5:42*b*, 43	8:55, 56			
	9:26					
46. Rejection at Nazareth (Matt.-Mark.)	**13:54–58**	**6:1–6*a***				
	13:54*a*	6:1*a*	.....	.....	.....	4:16*a*
	.....	6:1*b*				
	13:54*b*	6:2*a*	.....	.....	.....	4:16*b*
	13:54*c*	6:2*b*	.....	.....	.....	4:22*a*
	13:55*a*	6:3*a*	.....	.....	.....	4:22*b*
	13:55*b*–57*a*	6:3*b*				
	13:57*b*	6:4	.....	.....	.....	4:24
	13:58	6:5, 6				
47. Mission of the Twelve	**9:35—11:1**	**6:6*b*–13**	**9:1–6**			
	9:35*a*	6:6*b*				
	9:35*b*	.....	.....	4:23		
	9:36	.....	.....	.....	6:34	
	9:37, 38	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:2
	10:1	6:7	9:1			
	10:2–4	.....	.....	.....	3:16–19	6:14–16

[7] This parable (the mustard seed) was evidently in both sources, Mark and *P*. Matthew's version is conflate. The parallelism of the two sources leads to the inclusion in Matt. of the parable of the leaven which in *P* immediately follows that of the mustard seed.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Mission of the Twelve—*Continued*	10:5, 6					
	10:7, 8*a*	.....	9:2	.....	.....	10:9
	10:8*b*					
	10:9, 10*a*	6:8, 9	9:3	.....	.....	10:4*a*
	10:10*b*	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:7*b*
	10:11	6:10	9:4			10:7*a*, *c*
	10:12, 13	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:5, 6
	10:14	6:11	9:5	.....	.....	10:10, 11
	10:15	.....	.....	11:24	.....	10:12
	10:16*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	10:3
	10:16*b*					
	10:17, 18	.....	.....	24:9*a*	13:9	21:12, 13
	10:19, 20	.....	.....	.....	13:11	12:11, 12 21:14, 15
	10:21	.....	.....	24:9*b*	13:12	21:16
	10:22	.....	.....	24:9*c*, 13	13:13	21:17, 19
	10:23					
	10:24, 25*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	6:40
	10:25*b*					
	10:26	.....	.....	.....	4:22	8:17; 12:2
	10:27–29	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:3–6
	10:30	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:7*a*; 21:18
	10:31, 32	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:7*b*, 8
	10:33	.....	.....	.....	8:38	9:26; 12:9
	10:34, 35	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:51, 53
	10:36					
	10:37	.....	.....	.....	.....	14:26
	10:38	.....	.....	16:24	8:34	9:23; 14:27
	10:39	.....	.....	16:25	8:35	9:24; 17:33
	10:40*a*	.....	.....	18:5	9:37*a*	9:48*a*; 10:16*a*
	10:40*b*	.....	.....	.....	9:37*b*	9:48*b*; 10:16*b*
	10:41					
	10:42	.....	.....	.....	9:41	
	.....	6:12, 13	9:6			
	11:1					
48. Death of John the Baptist	**14:1–12**	**6:14–29**	**9:7–9**			
	14:1, 2*a*	6:14*a*	9:7			
	14:2*b*	6:14*b*				
	.....	6:15, 16	9:8, 9			
	14:3, 4	6:17, 18	.....	.....	.....	3:19, 20
	.....	6:19*a*				
	14:5	6:19*b*, 20*a*				
	.....	6:20*b*				
	14:6*a*	6:21*a*				
	.....	6:21*b*				
	14:6*b*–12*a*[8]	6:22–29				
	14:12*b*					
49. Feeding of the five thousand	**14:13–23*a***	**6:30–46**	**9:10–17**			
	.....	6:30	9:10*a*			
	.....	6:31				
	14:13	6:32, 33	9:10*b*, 11*a*			
	14:14*a*	6:34*a*	.....	9:36*a*		
	.....	6:34*b*	.....	9:36*b*		
	.....	6:34*c*	9:11*b*			
	14:14*b*	.....	9:11*c*			
	14:15, 16	6:35–37*a*	9:12, 13*a*			
	.....	6:37*b*	9:13*c*			
	14:17–21	6:38–43	9:13*b*, 14–17			
	14:22, 23*a*	6:44–46				
50. Walking on the water	**14:23*b*–36**	**6:47–56**				
	14:23*b*–27	6:47–50				
	14:28–31					
	14:32, 33*a*	6:51				
	14:33*b*					
	.....	6:52				
	14:34, 35	6:53–55				
	.....	6:56*a*				
	14:36	6:56*b*				
51. Eating with unwashen hands	**15:1–20**	**7:1–23**				
	15:1	7:1				
	.....	7:2–4				
	15:2	7:5				
	15:7–9	7:6, 7				

[8] Condensed.

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Eating with unwashen hands—*Continued*	15:3 6	7:8-13				
	15:10, 11	7:14, 15				
	15:12-14*a*					
	15:14*b*	.....	.....	.....	.....	6:39
	15:15-20	7:17-23				
52. The Syrophœnician woman	**15:21-28**	**7:24-30**				
	15:21	7:24*a*				
	.....	7:24*b*				
	15:22	7:25*a*				
	15:23, 24					
	15:25	7:25*b*, 26				
	.....	7:27*a*				
	15:26-28	7:27*b*-30				
53. Return to the Sea of Galilee	**15:29-31**	**7:31-37**				
	15:29, 30	7:31, 32				
	.....	7:33-36				
	15:31*a*	7:37				
	15:31*b*					
54. Feeding of the four thousand	**15:32 38**	**8:1 9**				
55. Demand for a sign from heaven	**15:39—16:12**	**8:10 21**				
	15:39—16:2*a*	8:10-12*a*	.....	.....	.....	12:54-56
	[16:2*b*, 3]	.....	.....	12:39*a*	.....	11:29*a*
	16:4*a*	8:12*b*	.....	12:39*b*	.....	11:29*b*
	16:4*b*	.....				
	16:4*c*	8:13				
	16:5	8:14				
	16:6(=11*b*)	8:15	.....	.....	.....	12:1*b*
	16:7-11*a*	8:16-21				
	16:11*b*(=6)					
	16:12					
56. The blind man near Bethsaida	.....	**8:22-26**				
57. Peter's confession	**16:13 20**	**8:27-30**	**9:18 21**			
	16:13 16	8:27 29	9:18 20			
	16:17-19*a*					
	16:19*b*	.....	.....	18:18		
	16:20	8:30	9:21			
58. Jesus foretells his death	**16:21 28**	**8:31 9:1**	**9:22-27**			
	16:21*a*	8:31*a*	9:22*a*	.....	.....	17:25
	16:21*b*	8:31*b*	9:22*b*			
	.....	8:32*a*				
	16:22, 23	8:32*b*, 33				
	16:24	8:34	9:23	10:38	.....	14:27
	16:25	8:35	9:24	10:39	.....	17:33
	16:26*a*	8:36	9:25			
	16:26*b*	8:37				
	16:27	8:38	9:26	10:33	.....	12:9
	16:28	9:1	9:27			
59. The transfiguration	**17:1 13**	**9:2-13**	**9:28-36**			
	17:1-3	9:2 4	9:28-30			
	.....	.....	9:31, 32			
	17:4, 5	9:5 7	9:33-35			
	17:6, 7					
	17:8	9:8	9:36*a*			
	17:9	9:9				
	.....	9:10	9:36*b*			
	17:10 12	9:11 13				
	17:13					
60. The epileptic boy	**17:14 20**	**9:14-29**	**9:37-43*a***			
	17:14*a*	9:14*a*	9:37			
	.....	9:14*b* 16				
	17:14*b*, 15*a*	9:17, 18*a*	9:38, 39			
	17:16, 17	9:18*b*, 19	9:40, 41			
	.....	9:20	9:42*a*			
	.....	9:21				
	17:15*b*	9:22*a*				
	.....	9:22*b*-24				
	17:18*a*	9:25*a*	9:42*b*			
	.....	9:25*b*				
	17:18*b*	9:26*a*				
	.....	9:26*b*				
	17:18*c*	9:27	9:42*c*			

PART III. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
The epileptic boy—*Continued*	.....	.....	9:43*a*			
	17:19	9:28				
	17:20	.....	.....	21:21	11:22, 23	17:6
	.....	9:29				
61. Jesus again foretells his death	**17:22, 23**	**9:30-32**	**9:43*b*-45**			
	17:22	9:30, 31*a*	9:43*b*, 44			
	17:23	9:31*b*				
	.....	9:32	9:45			
62. The temple tax	**17:24-27**					
63. Discourse on humility	**Chap. 18**	**9:33-50**	**9:46-50**			
	18:1	9:33-35*a*	9:46, 47*a*			
	.....	9:35*b*	9:48*c*	20:26, 27; 23:11	10:43, 44	22:26
	18:2	9:36	9:47*b*			
	18:3	.....	.....	.....	10:15	18:17
	18:4					
	18:5	9:37*a*	9:48*a*	10:40*a*	.....	10:16*a*
	.....	9:37*b*	9:48*b*	10:40*b*	.....	10:16*b*
	.....	9:38, 39*a*	9:49, 50*a*			
	.....	9:39*b*				
	.....	9:40	9:50*b*			
	.....	9:41	.....	10:42		
	18:6	9:42	.....	.....	.....	17:2
	18:7	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:1
	18:8	9:43, 45	.....	5:30		
	18:9	9:47	.....	5:29		
	.....	9:48, 49				
	.....	9:50*a*	.....	.....	.....	14:34*a*
	.....	9:50*b*	.....	5:13*b*	.....	14:34*b*
	.....	9:50*c*				
	18:10					
	18:12, 13	.....	.....	.....	.....	15:4, 5, 7*b*
	18:14					
	18:15	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:3
	18:16, 17					
	18:18	.....	.....	16:19*b*		
	18:19, 20					
	18:21, 22	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:4
	18:23-34					
	18:35	.....	.....	6:15	11:25	

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
64. Departure from Galilee	**19:1**	**10:1**	**9:51-56**			
	19:1	10:1				
	.....	.....	9:51-56			
65. Answer to disciples	**8:19 22**	**9:57-62**				
	8:19 22	.....	9:57-60*a*			
	.....	.....	9:60*b*-62			
66. Mission of the Seventy	.....	.....	**10:1-24**			
	.....	.....	10:1			
	.....	.....	10:2	9:37, 38		
	.....	.....	10:3	10:16*a*		
	.....	.....	10:4*a*	10:9, 10*a*	6:8, 9	9:3
	.....	.....	10:4*b*			
	.....	.....	10:5, 6	10:12, 13		
	.....	.....	10:7*a*			
	.....	.....	10:7*b*	10:10*b*		
	.....	.....	10:7*c*, 8			
	.....	.....	10:9	10:7, 8*a*	.....	9:2
	.....	.....	10:10, 11	10:14	6:11	9:5
	.....	.....	10:12	10:15; 11:24		

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Mission of the Seventy—*Continued*	.....	.....	10:13-15	11:21 23*a*		
	.....	.....	10:16*a*	10:40*a* 18:5	9:37*a*	9:48*a*
	.....	.....	10:16*b*	10:40*b*	9:37*b*	9:48*b*
	.....	.....	10:17, 18			
	.....	.....	10:19	.....	16:18	
	.....	.....	10:20			
	.....	.....	10:21	11:25, 26		
	.....	.....	10:22	11:27 28:18*b*		
	.....	.....	10:23, 24	13:16, 17		
67. The good Samaritan	.....	.....	**10:25-37**[9]			
68. Visit to Martha and Mary	.....	.....	**10:38-42**			
69. Concerning prayer	.....	.....	**11:1-13**			
	.....	.....	11:1			
	.....	.....	11:2	6:9, 10*a*		
	.....	.....	11:3, 4	6:11-13*a*		
	.....	.....	11:5-8			
	.....	.....	11:9-11	7:7-10		
	.....	.....	11:12			
	.....	.....	11:13	7:11		
70. Discourse against the Pharisees	.....	.....	**11:14-54**			
	.....	.....	11:14	9:32, 33*a* 12:22, 23*a*		
	.....	.....	11:15	9:34 12:24[10]	3:22	
	.....	.....	11:16	12:38		
	.....	.....	11:17*a*	12:25*a*		
	.....	.....	11:17*b*, 18	12:25*b*, 26	3:23*b*, 26	
	.....	.....	11:19, 20	12:27, 28		
	.....	.....	11:21, 22[10]	12:29	3:27	
	.....	.....	11:23	12:30		
	.....	.....	11:24-26	12:43-45*a*		
	.....	.....	11:27, 28*a*			
	.....	.....	11:29*a*	12:39*a* 16:4*a*	8:12*b*	
	.....	.....	11:29*b*	12:39*b* 16:4*b*		
	.....	.....	11:30[11]	12:40[11]		
	.....	.....	11:31	12:42		
	.....	.....	11:32	12:41		
	.....	.....	11:33	5:15	4:21	8:16
	.....	.....	11:34, 35	6:22, 23		
	.....	.....	11:36			
	.....	.....	11:37, 38			
	.....	.....	11:39-41	23:25, 26		
	.....	.....	11:42	23:23		
	.....	.....	11:43	23:6, 7	12:38, 39	20:46
	.....	.....	11:44	23:27		
	.....	.....	11:45, 46*a*			
	.....	.....	11:46*b*	23:4		
	.....	.....	11:47, 48	23:29, 31		
	.....	.....	11:49-51	23:34-36		
	.....	.....	11:52	23:13		
	.....	.....	11:53, 54			
71. Concerning trustfulness and watchfulness	.....	.....	**Chap. 12**			
	.....	.....	12:1*a*			
	.....	.....	12:1*b*	16:6 16:11*b*	8:15	
	.....	.....	12:2	10:26*b*	4:22	8:17
	.....	.....	12:3-6	10:27-29		
	.....	.....	12:7*a*	10:30	.....	21:18
	.....	.....	12:7*b*, 8	10:31, 32		
	.....	.....	12:9	10:33	8:33	9:26
	.....	.....	12:10	12:31, 32	3:28, 29	
	.....	.....	12:11, 12	10:19, 20	13:11	21:14, 15
	.....	.....	12:13-21			
	.....	.....	12:22-29	6:25-31		

[9] On 10:27 *cf.* Matt. 22:37, 38, and Mark 12:30, 31.

[10] Matthew and Mark, closely resembling one another verbally, are parallel to Luke in substance only.

[11] But Matthew contains reference to the three days and three nights not found in Luke.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Concerning trustfulness and watchfulness—*Continued*	.....	.....	12:30	6:32 6:8		
	.....	.....	12:31	6:33		
	.....	.....	12:32			
	.....	.....	12:33, 34	6:19–21		
	.....	.....	12:35–38			
	.....	.....	12:39, 40	24:43, 44		
	.....	.....	12:41			
	.....	.....	12:42–46	24:45–51		
	.....	.....	12:47–49			
	.....	.....	12:50*a*	.....	10:38*b*, 39*b*	
	.....	.....	12:50*b*			
	.....	.....	12:51	10:34		
	.....	.....	12:52			
	.....	.....	12:53	10:35, 36		
	.....	.....	12:54–56	[16:2, 3]		
	.....	.....	12:57			
	.....	.....	12:58, 59	5:25, 26		
72. Galileans slain by Pilate..	.....	.....	**13:1–9**			
73. Woman healed on a sabbath	.....	.....	**13:10–17**			
74. Parables of the kingdom..	.....	.....	**13:18–21**	13:31, 32	4:30–32	
	.....	.....	13:18, 19	13:33		
	.....	.....	13:20, 21			
75. Question whether few are saved	.....	.....	**13:22–30**			
	.....	.....	13:22, 23			
	.....	.....	13:24	7:13, 14		
	.....	.....	13:25*a*			
	.....	.....	13:25*b*	25:11*b*, 12		
	.....	.....	13:26			
	.....	.....	13:27	7:23		
	.....	.....	13:28	8:12 13:42 13:50 22:13 24:51 25:30		
	.....	.....	13:29	8:11		
	.....	.....	13:30	19:30 20:16	10:31	
76. Reply to warning against Herod	.....	.....	**13:31–35**			
	.....	.....	13:31–33			
	.....	.....	13:34, 35	23:37–39		
77. Discourse at table of a chief Pharisee	.....	.....	**14:1–24**			
	.....	.....	14:1–3*a*			
	.....	.....	14:3*b*	12:12*b*	3:4	6:9
	.....	.....	14:4			
	.....	.....	14:5	12:11		
	.....	.....	14:6–10			
	.....	.....	14:11	23:12	.....	18:14*b*
	.....	.....	14:12–14			
	.....	.....	14:15–24[12]			
78. Discourse on counting the cost	.....	.....	**14:25–35**			
	.....	.....	14:25			
	.....	.....	14:26	10:37		
	.....	.....	14:27	10:38 16:24	8:34	9:23
	.....	.....	14:28–33			
	.....	.....	14:34*a*		9:50*a*	
			14:34*b*	5:13*b*	9:50*b* (not *c*)	
	.....	.....	14:35*a*	5:13*c*		
	.....	.....	14:35*b*	11:15 13:9 13:43*b*	4:9 4:23	8:8*b*
	.....	.....				
79. Parables of grace	.....	.....	**Chap. 15**			
	.....	.....	15:1–3			
	.....	.....	15:4, 5	18:12, 13*a*		
	.....	.....	15:6			
	.....	.....	15:7	18:13*b*		

[12] Apparently the same parable as Matt. 22:1-10, but a wholly independent version.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Parables of grace—*Continued*	.....	.....	15:8-10			
	.....	.....	15:11-32			
80. Parables of warning	.....	.....	**16:1-31**			
	.....	.....	16:1-12			
	.....	.....	16:13	6:24		
	.....	.....	16:14, 15			
	.....	.....	16:16	11:12, 13		
	.....	.....	16:17	5:18		
	.....	.....	16:18	{ 5:32 { 19:9	10:11	
	.....	.....	16:19-31			
81. Concerning forgiveness and faith	.....	.....	**17:1-10**			
	.....	.....	17:1	18:7		
	.....	.....	17:2	18:6	9:42	
	.....	.....	17:3	18:15		
	.....	.....	17:4	18:21, 22		
	.....	.....	17:5			
	.....	.....	17:6	{ 17:20*b* { 21:21	11:22, 23	
	.....	.....	17:7-10			
82. The ten lepers	.....	.....	**17:11-19**			
83. The coming of the kingdom	.....	.....	**17:20—18:8**			
	.....	.....	17:20-22			
	.....	.....	17:23, 24	24:26, 27		
	.....	.....	17:25[13]	16:21*a*	8:31*a*	9:22*a*
	.....	.....	17:26, 27	24:37-39		
	.....	.....	17:28-32			
	.....	.....	17:33	{ 10:39 { 16:25	8:35	9:24
	.....	.....	17:34, 35	24:40, 41		
	.....	.....	17:37*a*			
	.....	.....	17:37*b*	24:28		
	.....	.....	18:1-8			
84. The Pharisee and the publican	.....	.....	**18:9-14**			
	.....	.....	18:9-14*a*			
	.....	.....	18:14*b*	23:12	.....	14:11
85. Concerning divorce	**19:3-12**	**10:2-12**				
	19:3	10:2				
	19:7, 8	10:3-5				
	19:4-6	10:6-9				
	.....	10:10				
	19:9	10:11	.....	5:32	.....	16:18
	.....	10:12				
	19:10-12					
86. Blessing little children	**19:13-15**	**10:13-16**	**18:15-17**			
	19:13, 14	10:13, 14	18:15, 16			
	.....	10:15	18:17	18:3		
	19:15	10:16				
87. The rich young man	**19:16—20:16**	**10:17-31**	**18:18-30**			
	19:16-20	10:17-20	18:18-21			
	.....	10:21*a*				
	19:21-23	10:21*b*-23	18:22-24			
	.....	10:24				
	19:24-27*a*	10:25-28	18:25-28			
	19:27*b*, 28*a*					
	19:28*b*	.....	.....	.....	.....	22:30*b*
	19:29*a*	10:29, 30*a*	18:29, 30*a*			
	.....	10:30*b*				
	19:29*b*	10:30*c*	18:30*b*			
	19:30 (=20:16)	10:31	.....	.....	.....	13:30
	20:1-15					
	20:16 (=19:30)					
88. Prediction of crucifixion	**20:17-19**	**10:32-34**	**18:31-34**			
	20:17*a*	10:32*a*				
	.....	10:32*b*				
	20:17*b*-19	10:32*c*-34	18:31-33			
	.....	.....	18:34			
89. Ambition of James and John	**20:20-28**	**10:35-45**				
	20:20-22*a*	10:35-38*a*				
	.....	10:38*b*	.....	.....	.....	12:50*a*
	20:22*b*, 23*a*	10:39*a*				

[13] *Cf.* also Matt. 17:22; Mark 9:31; Luke 9:44; and Matt. 20:18; Mark 10:33; Luke 18:31.

PART IV. THE PEREAN MINISTRY—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Ambition of James and John—*Continued*	.....	10:39*b*	.....	.....	.....	12:50*a*
	20:23*b*-25*a*	10:40-42*a*				
	20:25*b*, 26*a*	10:42*b*, 43*a*	.....	.....	.....	22:25, 26*a*
	20:26*b*, 27	10:43*b*, 44	.....	23:11	9:35*b*	22:26*b*; 9:48*b*
	20:28	10:45		.....	.....	22:27*b*
90. Bartimæus healed	**9:27-31**	**10:46-52**	**18:35-43**			
	20:29-34					
	20:29-32*a*	10:46-49*a*	18:35-40*a*			
	9:27					
	.....	10:49*b*, 50				
	9:28					
	20:32*b*, 33	10:51	18:40*b*, 41			
	20:34*a*					
	9:29*a*					
	9:29*b*	10:52*a*	18:42			
	20:34*b*	10:52*b*	18:43*a*			
	9:30*a*					
	.....	.....	18:43*b*			
	9:30*b*, 31					
91. Zacchæus	.....	.....	**19:1-10**			
92. Parable of the minæ	.....	.....	**19:11-28**			
	.....	.....	19:11			
	.....	.....	19:12, 13	25:14		
	.....	.....	19:14-16			
	.....	.....	19:17	25:21, 23		
	.....	.....	19:18, 19			
	.....	.....	19:20-25	25:24-28		
	.....	.....	19:26	25:29		
				13:12	4:25	8:18*b*
	.....	.....	19:27, 28			

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
93. Triumphal entry	**21:1-11**	**11:1-11**	**19:29-44**			
	21:1-3	11:1-3	19:29-31			
	21:4, 5					
	21:6	11:4	19:32			
	.....	11:5, 6	19:33, 34			
	21:7, 8	11:7, 8	19:35, 36			
	.....	.....	19:37			
	21:9*a*	11:9*a*				
	21:9*b*	11:9*b*, 10	19:38			
	.....	.....	19:39-44			
	21:10*a*	11:11*a*				
	21:10*b*, 11					
	.....	11:11*b*				
94. Cursing of the fig tree	**21:18, 19**	**11:12-14**				
	21:18, 19*a*	11:12, 13*a*				
	.....	11:13*b*				
	21:19*b*	11:14				
95. Cleansing of the temple	**21:12-17**	**11:15-19**	**19:45-48**			
	21:12*a*	11:15*a*	19:45			
	21:12*b*	11:15*b*				
	.....	11:16				
	21:13	11:17	19:46			
	.....	11:18*a*	19:47			
	.....	11:18*b*	.....	22:33		
	21:14-16					
	.....	.....	19:48			
	21:17	11:19	.....	.....	.....	21:37*a*
96 Lesson from the fig tree	**21:20-22**	**11:20-25**				
	.....	11:20				
	21:20	11:21				
	21:21	11:22, 23	.....	17:20	.....	17:6

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Lesson from the fig tree—*Continued*	21:22	11:24				
	.....	11:25	.....	6:14, 15 18:35		
97. Jesus' authority challenged	**21:23-27**	**11:27-33**	**20:1-8**			
98. Parables of warning	**21:28—22:14**	**12:1-12**	**20:9-19**			
	21:28-32					
	21:33*a*	12:1*a*	20:9*a*			
	21:33*b*	12:1*b*	20:9*b*			
	21:33*c*	12:1*c*	20:10-15			
	21:34-40	12:2-9*a*				
	21:41*a*	12:9*b*	20:16*a*			
	21:41*b*					
	.....	.....	20:16*b*			
	21:42*a*	12:10	20:17			
	21:42*b*	12:11				
	21:43					
	[21:44]	.....	20:18			
	21:45, 46*a*	12:12	20:19			
	21:46*b*					
	22:1-13*a*[14]					
	22:13*b*	.....	.....	8:12 13:43 13:50 24:51 25:30	.....	13:28
	22:14					
99. Questions by Jewish rulers	**22:15-40**	**12:13-34**	**20:20-40**			
	22:15, 16*a*	12:13, 14*a*	20:20*a*			
	.....	.....	20:20*b*			
	22:16*b*-22	12:14*b*-17	20:21-26			
	22:23-28	12:18-23	20:27-34*a*			
	22:29	12:24				
	.....	.....	20:34*b*, 35*a*			
	22:30	12:25	20:35*b*, 36*a*			
	.....	.....	20:36*b*			
	22:31, 32	12:26, 27	20:37, 38			
	22:33	.....	.....	.....	11:18*b*	
	22:34	12:28*a*	20:39			
	22:35, 36	12:28*b*				
	22:37, 38[15]	12:29, 30				
	22:39	12:31*a*				
	22:40	12:31*b*	.....	7:12		
	.....	12:32-34*a*				
	.....	12:34*b*	20:40	22:46		
100. Christ's unanswerable question	**22:41-46**	**12:35-37**	**20:41-44**			
	22:41-45	12:35-37	20:41-44			
	22:46	.....	.....	.....	12:34*b*	20:40
101. Woes against the scribes and Pharisees	**Chap. 23**	**12:38-40**	**20:45-47**			
	23:1	12:38*a*	20:45			
	23:2, 3					
	23:4	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:46*b*
	23:5					
	23:6, 7*a*	12:38*b*, 39	20:46	.....	.....	11:43
	23:7*b*-10					
	23:11	.....	.....	20:26, 27	9:35*b* 10:43, 44	22:26 9:48*b*
	23:12	.....	.....	.....	.....	14:11 18:14*b*
	23:13	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:52
	.....	12:40	20:47			
	23:15-22					
	23:23	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:42
	23:24					
	23:25, 26	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:39-41
	23:27	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:44
	23:28					
	23:29-31	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:47, 48
	23:32					
	23:33	.....	.....	3:7*b*	.....	3:7*b*
	23:34-36	.....	.....	.....	.....	11:49-51
	23:37-39	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:34, 35

[14] Matt. 22:1-14 is apparently the same parable that is contained in Luke 14:15-24, but an entirely independent version.
[15] On Matt. 22:37 ff. *cf.* Luke 10:27.

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
102. The widow's mite	.....	**12:41-44**	**21:1-4**			
103. Discourse on last things	**Chaps. 24, 25**	**Chap. 13**	**21:5-38**			
	24:1, 2	13:1, 2	21:5, 6			
	24:3*a*	13:3				
	24:3*b*	13:4	21:7			
	24:4-7	13:5-8	21:8-11			
	24:8	13:9*a*				
	24:9*a*	13:9*b*	21:12*a*	10:17		
	.....	13:9*c*	21:12*b*, 13	10:18		
	24:14	13:10				
	.....	13:11	21:14, 15	10:19, 20	.....	12:11, 12
	.....	13:12	21:16	10:21		
	24:9*b*	13:13*a*	21:17	10:22*a*		
	.....	.....	21:18	10:30	.....	12:7*a*
	24:10-12					
	24:13	13:13*b*	21:19	10:22*b*		
	24:15-18	13:14-16	21:20, 21			
	.....	.....	21:22			
	24:19	13:17	21:23*a*			
	24:20	13:18				
	24:21*a*	13:19*a*	21:23*b*			
	24:21*b*, 22	13:19*b*, 20				
	.....	.....	21:24			
	24:23	13:21	.....	.....	.....	17:23
	24:24, 25	13:22, 23				
	24:26, 27	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:23, 24
	24:28	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:37*b*
	24:29*a*	13:24, 25*a*	21:25*a*			
	.....	.....	21:25*b*, 26*a*			
	24:29*b*	13:25*b*	21:26*b*			
	24:30*a*					
	24:30*b*	13:26	21:27			
	24:31	13:27				
	.....	.....	21:28			
	24:32-35	13:28-31	21:29-33			
	24:36	13:32				
	24:37-39	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:26, 27
	24:40, 41	.....	.....	.....	.....	17:34, 35
	.....	13:33, 34				
	24:42 (*cf.* 25:13)	13:35*a* (*cf.* 33)				
	.....	13:35*b* 37				
	24:43, 44	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:39, 40
	24:45-51*a*	.....	.....	.....	.....	12:42-46
	24:51*b* (=25:30*b*)	.....	.....	8:12; 13:42; 13:50; 22:13*b*	.....	13:28
	.....	.....	21:34-36			
	25:1-11*a*					
	25:11*b*, 12	.....	.....	.....	.....	13:25*b*
	25:13 (see 24:42)					
	25:14	.....	.....	.....	.....	19:12, 13
	25:15-20					
	25:21	.....	.....	.....	.....	19:17
	25:22					
	25:23	.....	.....	.....	.....	19:17
	25:24-28	.....	.....	.....	.....	19:20-25
	25:29	.....	.....	13:12	4:25	19:26; 8:18*b*
	25:30*a*					
	25:30*b* (see 24:51)					
	25:31-46					
	.....	.....	21:37*a*	.....	11:11	
	.....	.....	21:37*b*	21:17	11:19	
	.....	.....	21:38			
104. Conspiracy of the chief priests	**26:1-5**	**14:1, 2**	**22:1, 2**			
	26:1					
	26:2*a*	14:1*a*	22:1			
	26:2*b*					
	26:3*b*					
	26:3*a*, 4	14:1*b*	22:2*a*			
	26:5*a*	14:2*a*				
	26:5*b*	14:2*b*	22:2*b*			

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
105. Anointing in Bethany (Matt.-Mark.)	**26:6-13**	**14:3-9**				
106. Plot of Judas and the rulers	**26:14-16**	**14:10, 11**	**22:3-6**			
107. Last supper	**26:17-35**	**14:12 31**	**22:7 38**			
	26:17, 18	14:12-14	22:7-11			
	.....	14:15	22:12			
	26:19, 20	14:16, 17	22:13, 14			
	.....	.....	22:15-17			
	26:21	14:18	22:21			
	26:22	14:19	22:23			
	26:23	14:20				
	26:24*a*	14:21*a*	22:22			
	26:24*b*	14:21*b*				
	26:25					
	26:26	14:22	22:19*a*			
	.....	.....	22:19*b*			
	26:27, 28	14:23, 24	22:20			
	26:29	14:25	22:18			
	.....	.....	22:24			
	.....	.....	22:25, 26*a*	20:25, 26*a*	10:42, 43*a*	
	.....	.....	22:26*b*	20:26*b*, 27 23:11	10:43*b*, 44 9:35*b*	9:48*b*
	.....	.....	22:27*a*			
	.....	.....	22:27*b*	20:28	10:45	
	.....	.....	22:28-30*a*			
	.....	.....	22:30*b*	19:28*b*		
	26:30-32	14:26-28				
	.....	.....	22:31, 32			
	26:33, 34	14:29, 30	22:33, 34			
	26:35	14:31				
	.....	.....	22:35 38			
108. Agony in Gethsemane	**26:36-46**	**14:32 42**	**22:39-46**			
	26:36*a*	14:32*a*	22:39, 40*a*			
	26:36*b*	14:32*b*				
	26:37, 38	14:33, 34				
	26:39	14:35, 36	22:41, 42			
	.....	.....	22:43, 44			
	26:40*a*	14:37*a*	22:45			
	26:40*b*	14:37*b*				
	26:41	14:38	40*b*—46*b*			
	26:42 46	14:40-43				
109. Betrayal and arrest	**26:47-56**	**14:43 52**	**22:47-53**			
	26:47*a*	14:43*a*	22:47*a*			
	26:47*b*, 48	14:43*b*, 44				
	26:49	14:45	22:47*b*			
	26:50*a*	.....	22:48			
	26:50*b*	14:46				
	.....	.....	22:49			
	26:51	14:47	22:50			
	26:52-54					
	.....	.....	22:51			
	26:55	14:48, 49*a*	22:52, 53*a*			
	.....	.....	22:53*b*			
	26:56	14:49*b*, 50				
	.....	14:51, 52				
110. Trial before Jewish authorities	**26:57-27:10**	**14:53-72**	**22:54-71**			
	26:57, 58	14:53, 54	22:54, 55			
	26:59, 60*a*	14:55, 56*a*				
	.....	14:56*b*				
	26:60*b*, 61	14:57, 58				
	.....	14:59				
	26:62, 63*a*	14:60, 61*a*				
	26:63*b*	14:61*b*	22:66*b*			
	.....	.....	22:66*a*			
	.....	.....	22:67, 68			
	26:64*a*	14:62*a*	22:69			
	26:64*b*	14:62*b*				
	.....	.....	22:70			
	26:65*a*	14:63*a*				
	26:65*b*	14:63*b*, 64*a*	22:71			
	26:66	14:64*b*				
	26:67, 68	14:65*a*	22:63, 64			
	.....	14:65*b*				
	.....	.....	22:65			

PART V. THE PASSION WEEK—*Continued*

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
Trial before Jewish authorities—*Continued*..	26:69, 70	14:66–68*a*	22:56, 57			
	26:71*a*	14:68*b*				
	.....	14:68*c*				
	26:71*b*–74	14:69–72*a*	22:58–60			
	.....	.....	22:61*a*			
	26:75	14:72*b*	22:61*b*, 62			
111. Trial before Pilate.....	**27:1-31**	**15:1-20**	**23:1-25**			
	27:1	15:1*a*				
	27:2	15:1*b*	23:1			
	27:3-11*a*					
	.....	.....	23:2			
	27:11*b*	15:2	23:3			
	27:12-14	15:3 5				
	.....	.....	23:4-16			
	27:15, 16	15:6, 7*a*				
	.....	15:7*b*, 8	23:19			
	27:17, 18	15:9, 10				
	27:19					
	27:20-23	15:11-14	23:18, 20–23*a*			
	27:24, 25					
	27:26	15:15	23:23*b*–25			
	27:27-31	15:16-20				
112. Crucifixion of Jesus.....	**27:32-56**	**15:21-41**	**23:26-49**			
	27:32	15:21	23:26			
	.....	.....	23:27 32			
	27:33	15:22	23:33*a*			
	27:34	15:23				
	.....	.....	23:34*a*			
	27:35	15:24	23:34*b*			
	.....	15:25				
	27:36	.....	23:35*a*			
	27:37	15:26	23:38			
	27:38	15:27	23:33*b*			
	27:39, 40	15:29, 30				
	27:41, 42*a*	15:31, 32*a*	23:35*b*			
	27:42*b*	15:32*b*				
	27:43					
	.....	.....	23:36, 37			
	27:44	15:32*c*	23:39			
	.....	.....	23:40 43			
	27:45	15:33	23:44, 45*a*			
	27:46–49	15:34-36				
	27:50	15:37	23:46*a*			
	.....	.....	23:46*b*			
	27:51*a*	15:38	23:45*b*			
	27:51*b*–53					
	27:54	15:39	23:47			
	.....	.....	23:48			
	27:55*a*	15:40*a*	23:49*a*			
	27:56	15:40*b*				
	27:55*b*	15:41	23:49*b*			
113. Burial of Jesus.....	**27:57-61**	**15:42-47**	**23:50 56**			
	27:57*a*	15:42*a*				
	.....	15:42*b*	23:54			
	27:57*b*	15:43*a*	23:50, 51*b*			
	.....	.....	23:51*a*			
	27:58*a*	15:43*b*	23:52			
	.....	15:44				
	27:58*b*	15:45				
	27:59, 60*a*	15:46*a*	23:53			
	27:60*b*	15:46*b*				
	27:61	15:47	23:55			
	.....	.....	23:56*a*	.....	16:1	
	.....	.....	23:56*b*			
114. Watch at the sepulcher..	**27:62-66**					

PART VI. THE APPEARANCES AFTER THE RESURRECTION

Section Titles	Parallel Sections			Parallel Material in Non-Parallel Sections		
	Matt.	Mark	Luke	Matt.	Mark	Luke
115. Resurrection morning...	**28:1-10**	**16:1-8 [9-11]**	**24:1 12**			
	.....	16:1	.....	.....	.....	23:56*a*
	28:1	16:2	24:1			
	28:2-4					
	.....	16:3				
	.....	16:4	24:2			
	.....	.....	24:3			
	.....	16:5	24:4, 5*a*			
	27:5, 6*a*	16:6	24:5*b*, 6*a*			
	.....	.....	24:6*b*, 7			
	28:7, 8	16:7, 8				
	28:9, 10	[*cf.* 16:9-11]				
	.....	.....	24:8-12			
116. Report of the watch.....	**28:11-15**					
117. Walk to Emmaus.....	.....	**[16:12, 13[16]]**	**24:13-35**			
118. Appearance in Jerusalem, Thomas being absent	.....	[16:14[1]]	**24:36 43**	.....	**16:19, 20**	
119. Appearance to the Eleven in Galilee.....	**28:16 20**					
	28:16 18*a*	**[16:15 18]**				
	28:18*b*	.....	.....	11:27*b*	.....	10:22*b*
	28:19*a*	[16:15]				
	28:19*b*, 20					
	.....	[16:16-18]				
120. Final appearance and ascension.....	.....	**[16:19. 20]**	**24:44-53**			
	.....	.....	24:44-50			
	.....	[16:19]	24:51			
	.....	.....	24:52			
	.....	[16:20]				

[16] The parallelism in these cases is only of the most general character.

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